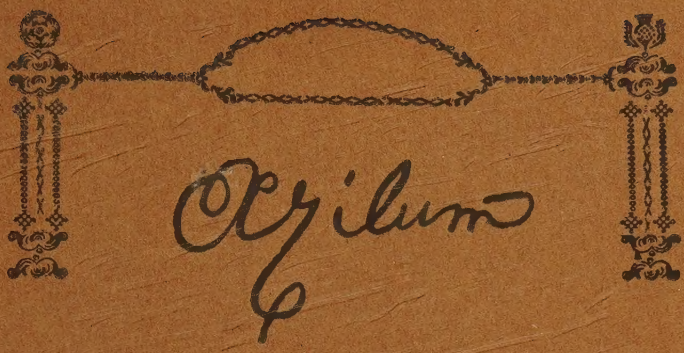

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Asylum Company.

This is to certify, That John Nicholson Esquire of Philadelphia is entitled to one action or share in the entire property of the Asylum Company, being the equivalent of two hundred acres of land, in proportion to the entire quantity of acres purchased by the said company; and the said John Nicholson Esquire his heirs, executors or administrators, is entitled to receive one share of all the estate, real and personal, which now is or may hereafter become the property of the said company, agreeably to the articles of agreement, dated at Philadelphia, the twenty-second day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, a copy whereof is hereunto annexed. This certificate being transferable only in the manner prescribed in the said articles of agreement.

SIGNED in the presence, and by order of the Board of Managers, at Philadelphia, the twenty eighth day of November 1794

Teste. Rob^t Morris, President.

James Duncan Secretary.

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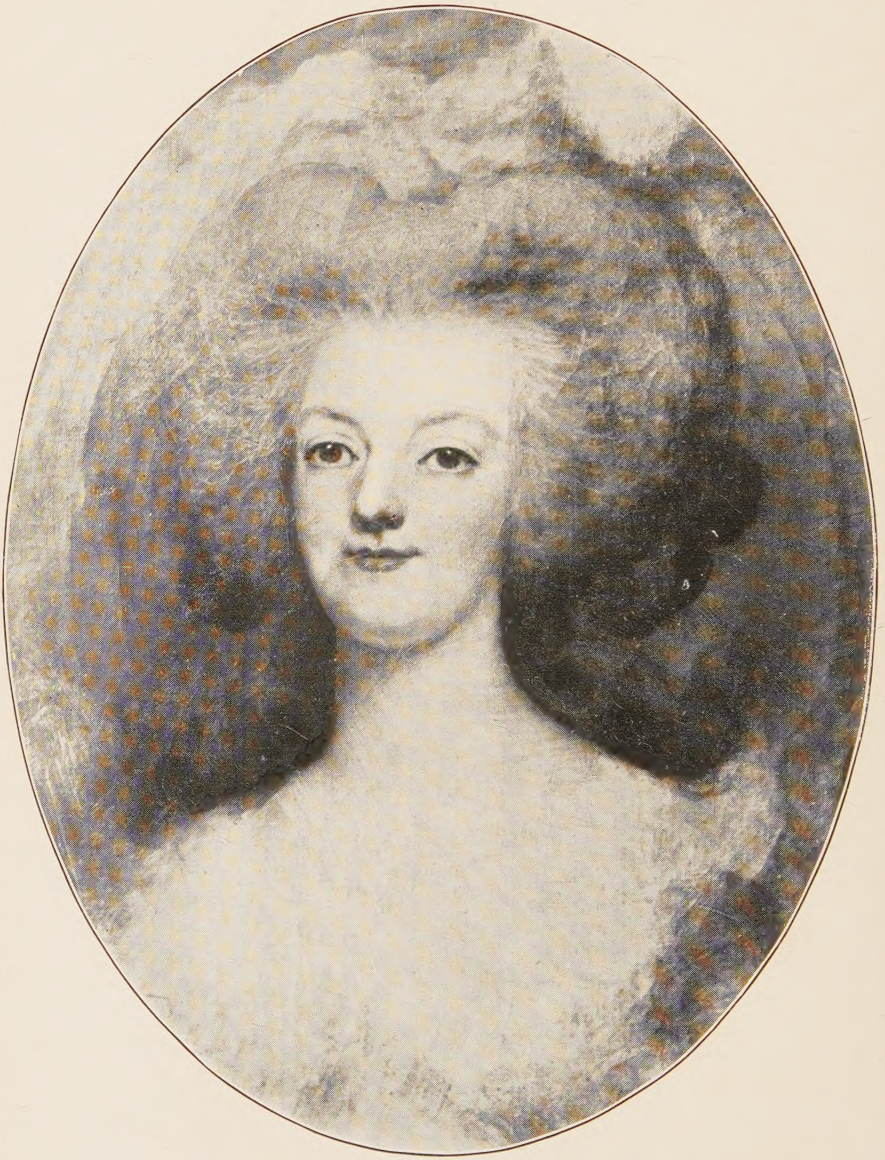

The Story

OF

Some French Refugees

AND THEIR

"AZILUM"

BY

Louise Welles Murray

The original of the portrait of Marie Antoinette, used as frontispiece, once hung in the Royal Palace. The family tradition, doubtless true, is that it was presented to John Keating, on the occasion of one of his visits to France by the Duc de Berri, a nephew of Louis XVI. It is now in possession of J. Percy Keating of Philadelphia, by whose courtesy it is here reproduced.

Louise Welles Murray

October 17, 1922

The Story

OF

Some French Refugees

AND THEIR

"AZILUM"

1793—1800

SECOND EDITION

BY

Louise Welles Murray

Past Historian Tioga Point Chapter;
Member National Committee for Preservation of Historical Spots and Records, N. S. D. A. R.;

Athens, Penna.

"Ye Shapes and Shadows of the Past
Rise from your graves,
Revisit your familiar haunts again,
Let us behold your faces,
Let us hear the words you uttered."

1917

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Elmira, N. Y.

Elizabeth Laporte
In Memoriam

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Original Preface

The fact that the story of Asylum has been neglected by general American historians should be sufficient reason for having it published in an enduring form. Of late years not a few imperfect and inaccurate accounts have appeared in various magazines and newspapers, and it has seemed that the time has come to gather and publish every bit of the perishing story.

The mother of the writer, Elizabeth Laporte, lived with her grandfather, Bartholomew Laporte, for eleven years before his death, and with his wife eighteen years. Not long before her death she requested the writer to take notes from her recollections for the benefit of her children. She also had drawn, from her description, an interior plan of the great house in which she was born, and gave a full description of exterior surroundings. She requested the writer to record the story of Asylum; and, in loving memory of her fondness for all connected with it, it has been done. The truth of several of her statements has only recently been admitted by those interested in Asylum. But they are here recorded as she had them from Bartholomew Laporte. By careful research for eight years these recollections have been added to, and the writer has become possessed of various records, bits of memoirs, &c., not hitherto published; of special value being those of John Keating, which reveal various facts not previously known by the students of the history of Asylum. By far the most helpful papers in establishing dates and correcting complicating statements are some receipted accounts signed by some of the most prominent men in the colony. These papers were found in a collection made by the late Edward Herrick, and were presented to the writer by his son, Jackman Herrick.

Diligent inquiry elicits the fact that the French descendants of the prominent founders of Asylum seem never to have heard of it, and we must infer that it was but an episode in the chequered life of an active Frenchman in those stormy Revolutionary days.

In addition to personal research the writer has had the benefit of the work of Rev. David Craft, the first historian of Asylum. Thanks are also due to the descendants of Laporte, Homet, Lefevre and d'Autremont, especially Mr. Charles d'Autremont, for maps, letters, portraits and genealogical data; to Mr. J. Percy Keating for memoirs and portraits; to Mr. Julius Brown and sister, Mrs. Charlotte Pierce, for drawings and descriptions of the great house in which they lived; to Mr. J. A. Biles, surveyor, for valuable information; to Mr. Edward Welles for copies of Hollenback letters and helpful assistance; to Mr. Frank R. Welles for research in Paris libraries; to Mr. John W. Jordan of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and to B. S. Russell for reminiscences of conversations with Judge Laporte.

In research and arrangement the writer has received some assistance from her daughters.

The original plot of Asylum is now in the possession of Bradford County Historical Society, who kindly permitted copy to be made.

A copy of this plot, excluding pen-pictures, inscriptions, &c., was made for Judge Laporte about 60 years ago. This was presented to the Tioga Point Historical Society by the late Mrs. Bartholomew Laporte in 1896.

Some of the Articles of Agreement are in print and in possession of various historical societies. Others are supposed to exist only in the Craft collection of MSS., in Tioga Point Hist. Soc., the originals having been destroyed by fire while in the possession of M. Meylert of Laporte, who was the last purchaser of lands of the Asylum Company.

While it would be commendable as history, no effort has been made in this work to gather the story of the non-French settlers at Asylum, either before or after the existence of "Frenchtown," as Asylum was familiarly called by American settlers in the region. This is intended to be the story of the French and has been impartially and conscientiously compiled, corrected and authenticated. The writer is well aware that some statements disagree with all previously published, but hopes for only kindly criticism. L. W. M.

February 28, 1903.

Introduction to Second Edition.

No sooner had "Azilum" been published than the author became aware that all sources of information had not been exhausted. Work was at once begun to collect further data, both in France and America.

It has become increasingly evident that the various efforts of the French to establish colonies in the United States have not received from our greater American historians the attention they deserve. True Parkman and some others have dwelt upon the very early and the recent history of the French in this country, but little heed has been given to the colonies of Revolutionary times and thereabouts. The admirable volume of J. G. Rosengarten, entitled "French Colonists and Exiles in the United States" gives a thorough and most excellent general survey, yet still leaves much for the so-called local historian.

In the fourteen years since first publication, much has been gleaned of more or less value, and the erection of a boulder marking the Asylum plot has made the time seem auspicious to issue a second edition. The effort has been to learn more about the notable founders of "Azylum" or "Azilum" (as they wrote it) than about the few who remained. The same effort has been made concerning the numerous visitors to the settlement. Very careful research both in Philadelphia and Harrisburg has revealed many papers whose existence was heretofore unsuspected. A French historian became interested, as also descendants of some of the founders of the colony. We record our special obligations to Viscomte de Noailles, France; Dr. John W. Jordan, Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Hon. Thomas L. Montgomery, State Librarian; Mr. Joseph G. Rosengarten, Philadelphia; William H. Perkins, Miss Mary I. Stille, Mrs. F. W. Merriam, Mrs. G. L. Smith, and the following descendants of the first settlers at Asylum: Mrs. Theresa

Homet Patterson, Mr. Charles d'Autremont, Jr., Gilbert S. McClintock, Mr. J. Percy Keating, the Misses Storrs.

June 1, 1917, as we go to press, the country has been stirred by the visit of the French Commission, and the time and place seem fit to say that, with all of America's applause and responsiveness, we are still quite sure that the people of the United States do not fully appreciate their *debt to France*. We appeal to them to study, not only in this little volume but at every possible source, the deeds of the French soldiers and sailors during the Revolutionary War. And we urge every one to learn, to know and repeat in this crisis the words which George Washington wrote to the French General Rochambeau, one hundred and thirty-four years ago: "To the generous aid of your nation, and to the bravery of her troops, may be attributed in a very great degree, that independence for which we have fought, and, which after a severe conflict of more than seven years we have obtained." The cry of liberty, equality, sprang first from America, but fraternity especially belongs to both sides of the sea. May the deeds portrayed in this little book prove an incentive to patriotic Americans, not only to pay homage to the France of to-day, but to pay our debt to the France of a century ago.

Louise Welles Murray.

The Story of Some French Refugees and Their "Azilum"

CHAPTER I.

A recent historian has said: "No other state in the Union presents a history so closely connected with world progress as Pennsylvania, which has been the laboratory in which have been performed many important experiments in sociology, religion and government."

In addition to these various constructive forces, there have been in many parts of the Keystone State episodes of so-called local history of far reaching interest. Among them, there was no more romantic or fascinating enterprise than the attempted city at Asylum, Bradford County; which settlement, although of too short duration to leave any very strong influence on the community, forms an interesting chapter in the history of the State. Because of the fortitude of the exiles under misfortune, and again because of their loyalty to their King and Queen, it is worth our while to preserve the story.

Several years ago as I was wandering about the rooms in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, I was attracted by a small paper bearing the name "Asylum." It read as follows:

1 Share Asylum Co.
Jno. Keating
Garrett Cottringer

Robt. Morris
John Nicholson

This is to certify that Charles de Cadignan of Philadelphia is entitled to one action or share in the entire property of the Asylum Co., being the equivalent of 200 acres of land, &c. &c.

Robt. Morris President
9 day of June 1794. *

James Duncan Secy.

This bit of yellowed paper which hung for years on the window frame near the old bell, received only a passing glance from the hundreds who yearly throng Independence Hall. Yet the page of

*This certificate, although no longer hanging on the wall, is still in the museum collection. Only a few copies are known to be in existence. It is one of the original lot issued to the first shareholders, having on the first two pages the articles of the first constitution. Third page as shown on fly leaf. Fourth page, rates of interest and when payable and an agreement to purchase the shares at the end of three years, (at the option of the holder) for $500. each. "Baron de Cadignan was Colonel of a St. Domingo Regiment which came to this continent to take part in the siege of Yorktown. He was one of the largest shareholders.

unwritten history which it represents is worthy of attention even here, in the birthplace of our liberty and constitution; for the history of this colony of French emigrés is closely interwoven with the personal history of men of national interest—men whose names are inseparably connected with the old hall, and those early troubled years of the young Republic.

Yet not alone to the student of American history do the memories awakened by this bit of paper appeal. The story of the colony and the brave men connected with it is as pure a bit of romance as the imagination can desire, hardly to be surpassed by the traditions of their prototypes, those picturesque adventurers who fought for existence in the Canadian wilderness some two centuries before.

The settlement of Asylum, whatever its prime motive, was the direct outcome of the French Revolution. Historians have not yet determined exactly when the French Revolution began, but we will date it from July 14, 1789.

This Revolution was the explosion resulting from centuries of repression, mismanagement and tyranny. Its four chief causes were:

*I. The long-continued and exhausting wars of France, which had piled up a debt of $1,300,000,000.

II. The fact that the blood tax springing from this war debt, and from the wasteful habits of King and court, fell on the common people, while the wealthy, who owned the land, were almost exempt.

III. For one hundred and seventy-five years the people had had no voice in the government because no meeting had been held of the States General, the national assembly.

IV. The final cause was the decay of religious belief, and the growth of a vigorous literature proclaiming principles of independence, liberty and equality, principles powerfully enforced by the republican institutions of America as witnessed by those warm hearted Frenchmen whom a generous impulse had brought in their youth to the succor of our revolted colonies.**

In the spring of 1789 Louis XVI, King of France, was forced by popular opinion to summon the States General. Old distinctions were done away, the King soon became alarmed at the democratic utterances of the Assembly, and collected a body of troops

*From Guizot's History.

**We take this opportunity to call attention to the fact that too little is known of the aid and exploits of Frenchmen in the War of the Revolution. Every one should become familiar with all the daring and brilliant deeds as portrayed in the volume by the present Vicomte de Noailles, entitled "Marins et Soldats Francais en Amerique."

at Versailles. A rumor spread on July 14th that the commander of the Bastille, the old military fortress and prison in the heart of Paris, had received orders to turn his guns on the city. A frenzied mob rushed toward the stronghold crying "Down with the Bastille."

The defenders of the building were captured and brutally murdered, their heads stuck on pikes being carried through the streets by the mob. The building was completely destroyed; the news was carried to Versailles; the King, roused from his sleep, said to the messenger, the Vicomte de Noailles: "Why, this is a revolt." "No, sire," was the reply, "it is a Revolution." "With the 14th day of July," said a wise and enlightened witness of the time, "the terror began." The distressed lower classes took the law into their own hands throughout France, the strongest motive being material want. While the multitudes were actually suffering from hunger, news reached Paris that the King had given a banquet to some army officers at Versailles, and that they had trampled the people's colors under their feet. These tidings inflamed the rabble, and they set out on foot for the palace, and forced the King and his family to go with them to Paris, shouting, "We shall not die of hunger now for we have got the baker, and the baker's wife and the baker's little boy." This compulsory journey was named by the mob the "Joyous Entry."

Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette have been so often misunderstood that, at the request of Theresa Homet Patterson, we here insert the inscriptions on their tombs which moved her profoundly on seeing them, as showing the worth and nobility of character of the Royal pair.

LAST WILL OF LOUIS XVI.

"I, Louis XVI. of that name, King of France, confined for four months with my family in the tower of the Temple at Paris, by those who were my subjects, and deprived, during eleven days, of all communication with even my family, and moreover implicated in a trial, the issue of which it is impossible to foresee, on account of the passions of men, having no one, save God, as a witness of my thoughts, or to whom I can address myself, declare here, in his presence, my last wishes and sentiments. I bequeath my soul to God my Creator, and pray he may receive it into his mercy. I die in the faith of the church, and obedience to its decisions. I pray God to forgive me all my sins; I have striven to remember and detest them, and to humble myself before him. I beg all those whom I have involuntarily injured, (for I do not remember ever having wilfully injured any one,) to forgive me the evil they believe I have done them; I request all men, who have any charity, to unite their prayers to mine; I pardon, from the bottom of my heart, all those who have become my enemies without my ever giving them any motive; and I pray God to pardon them, as well as those who, from a false or mistaken zeal, have done me much harm. I recommend to God my wife and children, my sister, my aunts, brothers, and all those

attached to me by the ties of blood, or any other manner. I pray God to look with compassion on my wife, children, and sister, who, for a long time, have suffered with me, and to support them if they lose me, and so long as they remain in this world. I recommend my children to my wife, whose affection for them I have never doubted; I also pray her to teach them to look upon the grandeurs of this world, if they should be condemned to suffer them, only as dangerous and temporary possessions, and to turn their thoughts to the only real and durable glory of eternity. I pray my sister to continue to show the same tenderness to my children, and to replace their mother should they have the misfortune to lose her. I pray my wife to forgive me all the misfortune she suffers on my account, and the sorrow I may have caused her in the course of my life, as she may be certain that I forgive her all, if she fancied she had any thing wherewith to reproach herself.

I recommend my children, after their duty to God, which is before all, to remain always united amongst themselves, to obey their mother, grateful for all the care she has taken of them; and in memory of myself, I pray them to look upon my sister as a second mother. I recommend my son, if he has the misfortune to become king, to remember that he owes himself to the happiness of his fellow citizens, to forget all hatred and resentment, and especially that which relates to the misfortunes and sorrows I now undergo. Let him remember that he can only make his subjects happy by reigning according to the laws, but that a king can only cause the laws to be respected, and do all the good he wishes, so long as he possesses the necessary power, but that when the contrary occurs, being thwarted in his actions, and inspiring no respect, he is more injurious than useful. Let him remember that I have contracted a sacred debt towards the children of those who have perished or are unhappy on my account; I recommend to him MM. Hue and Chamilly, whose strong attachment to me has induced them to shut themselves up in this miserable abode. Also Clery, of whom I am bound to speak in the highest praise. As he remains with me to the last, I request the Commune to give him my clothes, books, purse, watch, and the other ornaments which have been taken from me, and deposited at the Council of the Commune. I forgive my guardians all the harsh treatment they have deemed it their duty to make me suffer; I have found among them some compassionate and charitable men: may they enjoy that tranquility their thoughts must afford them! I beg MM. de Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Deseze to receive here my thanks, and the expression of my gratitude for all the trouble they have taken in my behalf, and the kindness they have shown me. I conclude, by declaring before God, and ready to appear in his presence, that I am innocent of all the crimes laid to my charge.

Written, in duplicate, at the tower of the Temple, December 25th, 1792. Louis."

From October 6, 1789, the nobility began to leave France in ever-increasing numbers, although it was not until September, 1792, that wholesale executions were begun. Then men fled for safety, leaving their families, never dreaming that they, too, would be guillotined (even the children,) because of their rank. Then many found it convenient to provide a permanent refuge beyond the borders of France.

As the Revolution progressed, and power passed from one party to another, the bands of fugitives grew larger, and not a few began to look from Europe to the new world for a permanent refuge. Our United States was then hardly more than a wilderness; but even to men nurtured in one of the most highly civilized nations

of Europe, the baby nation had its charm. For in spite of crudeness and possible isolation, America was enjoying already the liberty for which France was vainly striving; *liberty* which had become a steadily increasing passion in the hearts of those gallant young Frenchmen who had accompanied Lafayette to take part in this country's cause. Pontgibaud, a French soldier, tells in his memoirs of an interview with Alexander Hamilton. Speaking of the French interference in the American war he said: "The Cabinet of Versailles would seem to have committed a political fault in having openly supported America in a war for Independence, and more particularly for having sent over the young nobility of the court, who returned imbued with republican principles which overflowed in the form of the French Revolution and then inundated Europe." Hamilton replied laughing: "You are right—it is to the French arms that we owe our independence, but France would perhaps have done better if it had sent us your lower orders instead of your upper." It was said by a writer of the day, "Was not this spirit that had sprung to such sudden might in France the very spirit that had made America free, her people sovereign, her government as liberal as man could dream of? And was not France now more than ever America's friend and close ally against the world! 'Twould be niggardly to grudge her aid and love to the full in this day of her emulation of America's great example." Supposedly the same writer said later: " 'Twas plain to be seen as the months went by that the work being done in France bore no real likeness at all to the revolution in America."

Turquan, a French historian of very recent date, thus writes:

"Frightened at the progress of the Revolution many French emigrated to America. It had been surprising that the royalists had not thought to go to seek on the free ground of America liberty, such as was craved by the men of the Revolution in France, for they had not had time to forget in the thirst for novelty which turned all heads upside down, that Paris the city of infatuations had been seized with a veritable love for the young republic of the U. S.

They loved to fancy that there [in America] reigned a sort of Golden Age, that the return to nature such as Rousseau had preached was there an accomplished fact. They remembered the simple easy Franklin, the homage and respect which were heaped upon him in his tiny house at Passy. They still talked of his great shoes, his hair without powder, his chestnut colored coat, and talked with even more enthusiasm of his perfect good sense, full of smiling shrewdness. Meanwhile they kept from adopting his fashions and following his teaching. The majority confined themselves to repeating with a knowing air the famous verse of Turgot in his honor: 'Eripuit caelo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannus,' and they stopped at that.

From the first thunder stroke, several families were wise enough to go to America to avoid the storm. As the Terror increased le girondin Lasource in the infatuation of insecurity, having asked in the midst of

a group of deputies "Where can one be assured of safety?" Brissot, another girondin, answered, "It is scarcely possible except in Pennsylvania." And convinced of this truth, many left for America. Terrible indeed were the circumstances that led the French to decide to leave their own hearthstones and endure the risks of a long and perilous voyage to establish themselves in a country so new that the greater part of it was known only by fantastic accounts. But they started just the same, for they knew that the Hurons and the Iroquois could never be more barbarous than the pacifists and humanitarians of the Assembly. The celebrated Mme. Roland wrote from prison that she hoped others would leave the inhospitable land which fairly devoured people, adding: "O my friends, may a favorable heaven land you in the United States." Mme. de Stael herself after her return from England had thought to go to "Amèrique" to create for herself a new existence and to find there the liberty that one no longer had in France. In this new country those forced to flee could live better than in the cities of old Europe where they might easily die of hunger or be exposed to great privations. In America with very little, material life was assured, while in Europe it was not. Therefore large numbers left for the New World although they had to surmount many difficulties and dangers before reaching its shores. It is difficult to imagine the sentiments of these exiles after a voyage more or less perilous, when they beheld at last the shores of America. While some remained solemn and pensive, others manifested their joy noisily; they had escaped all the dangers—they felt they were saved. The future was only a matter of work and patience, privations without doubt and resignation, but they were full of courage and ready for every effort. Who knows? With a little luck why could not one come to a fortune? As the shores drew nearer little by little, a lively curiosity seized those uprooted people, waifs from the oldest monarchy in Europe who had come to be stranded in the midst of a young republic. Royalists themselves, they were astonished to be constrained by events to seek an asylum in the bosom of democracy, which illogically and in the height of contradiction they had helped with their arms and their blood to separate from the English Monarchy and to erect into a republic.

The links which French sympathy and American gratitude had forged between the two countries, facilitated flight across the Atlantic. Even if the official friendship of the two countries was soon to suffer a shock in the neutrality act, the individual ties were as strong as ever. Lafayette showed his affection and admiration of the United States by sending the key of the Bastille to Washington, the highest honor which he felt capable of paying him. And, while the United States did not feel bound to maintain friendly relations with the government that exiled and imprisoned Lafayette, to the men whom it exiled she opened her arms. Lafayette and his countrymen had left friends among the highest circles, official and commercial, of America. Robert Morris,* the famous financier of the Revolution; his colleague, Gouverneur Morris; Jefferson, ardent defender of the rights of man; Washington, the visible head of the Republic; all these stood ready to render material aid to those finding the excesses of the Jacobins

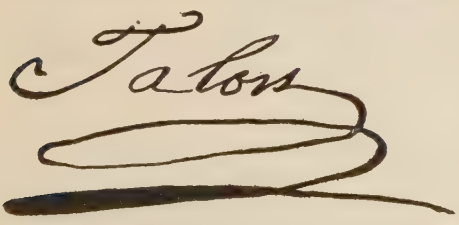
*Recently found letters show that Robert Morris and de Noailles carried on an intimate friendly correspondence in the period between the American and the French Revolution, also that it was through de Noailles in 1781 that Morris made arrangements for the payment of certain bills drawn for the support of the French army under Rochambeau.

unendurable. There is reason to believe that Gouverneur Morris, Minister to France, lavish of his wealth, and keenly sympathetic, facilitated the passage of more than one of these exiles to America, as later he did that of Louis Philippe and his brothers.

Philadelphia, the capital and center of the commercial and political activities of the young Republic, naturally attracted the refugees who were warmly received in the circle of friends of Robert Morris, the principal financiers of America: Willing, president of the first bank of the United States; Bingham, whose consulship in the French Indies had established him friend of the French; and Girard, the French merchant and philanthropist, whose advice and assistance were free to all; these men, high in official circles as well as chief representatives of American enterprise and commerce, were the promoters and supporters of colonies of French refugees which were soon scattered here and there throughout the country. The founders of the colony in Luzerne County (now Bradford) were Antoine Omer Talon and Vicomte Louis Marie de Noailles, both men who had been prominent and active in France.

"November 20, 1792," says Carlyle in his French Revolution, "Smith Gamain comes to Robespierre the leader of the people; hints that he knows a thing or two, that in May last when traitorous correspondence was so brisk, he and the Royal Apprentice (for poor Louis had a turn for blacksmith work), fabricated an iron chest, cunningly inserting the same in the wall of the Royal chamber in the palace, invisible."

The panel in the wall was at once searched for, wrenched out, and here are letters enough all treasonable to the people; Talleyrand, Mirabeau, Talon, and many others. It is of Talon only that we wish to speak.* Antoine Omer Talon was born in Paris January 20, 1760. Talon was not of noble birth, but of one of the most illustrious families of the French Magistracy. He became King's Advocate in 1777, when only seventeen years old. At the beginning of the Revolution he was Civil Lieut. of the Châtelet, (one of the famous prisons of Paris), also Chief Justice of the Criminal Court of France. He was early drawn into the conflict with the Jacobin party, and his position gave him ample op-



*See biographical notes at back of book.

portunity for making enemies. Famous men openly showed their enmity, but undaunted, he worked with all the means in his power for the cause of royalty. Such was the King's love for him that there is today a diamond studded box, on the cover of which is a portrait of Louis XVI. inscribed: "Given by the King to M. Talon, Sept. 7, 1791." He was also a member of the National As-

Talon

[From a miniature presented by himself to John Keating.]

sembly, and was distinguished for his unalterable defense of the royal prerogative claimed by Louis XVI. Compromised by the flight of the King, he was arrested and imprisoned for a month. Later he was one of the most faithful advisers of the King, and with other royalists met frequently at night in the Tuileries. When his letters were found in the iron chest, he was marked at once for the guillotine. He escaped, however, and fled to the

sea coast; Havre-de-Grace or Marseilles, where he lay in hiding for several weeks. At this time he became acquainted with a young Frenchman, Bartholomew Laporte by name, who had been a prosperous wine merchant at Cadiz, Spain. A decree of the Spanish Government, banishing all French subjects and confiscating their property, had left Laporte penniless and anxious to make his way to America, as Talon proposed to do. At last, having an opportunity to embark in an English merchantman at Marseilles, Laporte concealed Talon in a wine cask, carried him on board and stowed the cask in the hold of the vessel, covering it with charcoal. Suspecting that Talon would embark, soldiers searched the vessel, but in vain. On reaching England, Talon engaged passage to America for himself and Laporte, who was ever afterward his confidential agent and trusted land steward. Talon arrived in Philadelphia early in 1793. He had wealth, and it is said he purchased a large house at once which he threw open to all his exiled countrymen. We have not been able to locate this house. Soon after his arrival he took the oath of allegiance, the following record being still in existence, found among papers of John Keating:

"I, Matthew Irwin, Esqr., Master of Rolls for the State of Pennsylvania, do testify that Omer Talon, Gentleman from Paris, appeared before me and voluntarily took and subscribed the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity as directed by Act of General Assembly."

An appended document by one Peter Lohra set forth that "Omer Talon having taken such oath, is deemed accepted and taken as a citizen of the State of Pennsylvania as well as of the United States of America," dated July 11, 1793.

A third document also appeared, signed by Governor Thomas Mifflin, testifies that said Peter Lohra was a notary public in Philadelphia.

Talon went at once to Vicomte de Noailles, whom he had known in France.

arrived in Philadelphia early in the summer of 1792. He was not a stranger, for though eleven years had elapsed since his last visit, there were few who did not recall with pleasure the brilliant young brother-in-law and fellow officer of Lafayette. De Noailles had fought in the cause of American independence with such enthusiasm and distinction that Washington not only complimented his bravery several times in general orders, but gave to him the honor at Yorktown of receiving with an American officer the surrender of Cornwallis, and of establishing the terms of capitulation. This distinguished son of distinguished ancestry, soldiers, marshals and peers of France under three

Louis de Noailles

reigns, well deserved the honor bestowed upon him by Washington at Yorktown. His father was Maréchal de Mouchy, a court favorite. His mother was first lady of honor to Marie Antoinette. He and Lafayette married sisters. He was born in 1756, and entered upon a military career at an early age, and soon distinguished himself by the improvements which he introduced into military tactics in every regiment in which he served. He organized the regiment of which he became Colonel, and was considered one of the best Colonels of his time, although only twenty years old when he planned to go to America with Lafayette. He returned to France full of the liberal ideas and projects of our young Republic. He distinguished himself in the National Assembly of 1789 by claiming the equal adjustment of taxation, and was the author of the decree which gave the death blow to the old feudal system. He was made Field Marshal in November, 1791, and commanded under Lafayette. In 1792, discouraged by defeat in battle, and seeing treason and desertion on every hand in the army and general mismanagement in the government, he became desperate, resigned his position, went to England and thence to America. It is often said that he fell under the ban of Robespierre or the Jacobins (one of the numerous Revolutionary clubs

organized to gain the ear of the people). But all French biographies relate it as above.*

He was obliged to escape hastily, leaving behind him his helpless family; not only his wife and children, but his old father, the Maréchal de Mouchy, and his mother, chief maid of honor to the queen. All perished by the guillotine except a son and a daughter. On reaching Philadelphia, where his old friends proved friends indeed, he was at once welcomed to partnership with Bingham, where Talon found him.

Talon had plenty of means, and with the assistance of de Noailles he was enabled to throw open a house as an asylum for his helpless and destitute countrymen, in which there was soon gathered a motley crowd. There were members of the National Assembly, anxiously awaiting their families' arrival from Paris; titled officers of the army who had escaped barely with their lives; abbés who had seen their churches burned over their heads, and refugees who had fled penniless with their families from the French colony of San Domingo, where in 1791 slaves, stirred by the news of the revolution in France, had revolted against their masters and produced one of the most terrible insurrections ever known.**

The casual acquaintance of Talon and de Noailles soon ripened into the warmest friendship; for Talon, practical, experienced and level-headed, was just the man de Noailles needed for his purpose. The two men were soon as deep in plans as they had ever been in Paris. What were these plans? Strange things, rumor whispers, but probably no one will ever know for certain; they were swallowed up like many other affairs in the turmoil of the times. To the world de Noailles gave out that they were planning a colony for the destitute exiles who had flocked to Philadelphia. But if that were their only object why did they select the remotest and most inaccessible spot in the wilds of Pennsylvania for their Asylum? Unswerving in their loyalty it was really with the thought of preparing a refuge for the royal family as well as their own loved ones that de Noailles and Talon renewed their friendship and united their forces and efforts to establish an asylum in the wilderness for destitute emigrés as well as for the ill fated King and Queen.

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*For further account of de Noailles see biographical notes at back of book.

**In 1793 six hundred French refugees from St. Domingo arrived in Philadelphia during the outbreak of yellow fever. They were penniless and were provided for by the French Patriotic Society and a popular subscription. Others came who had both means and slaves. Descendants of the slaves are to be found in Bradford County to-day. These refugees were all "clever and very energetic."

Before Talon's arrival, de Noailles had already considered the purchase of a large tract of land from Robert Morris and John Nicholson, large proprietors in the wild lands of Pennsylvania, peculiarly remote and inaccessible. Major Adam Hoops, a Revolutionary soldier, was to accompany Charles Bué Boulogne* (a French attorney who had been traveling between France and America for the last two years, arranging purchases of land between American land holders and various Frenchmen, and of great use as an interpreter), on a tour of investigation to the region then known as Northumberland County. Adam Hoops, as Major in Sullivan's army, had made the journey fourteen years before, and was chosen as a guide because Robert Morris placed in him the utmost confidence. These gentlemen carried the following circular letter from Robert Morris:

Philadelphia, August 8th 1793.

Sir:

Should Mr. Boulogne find it necessary to purchase provisions or other articles in your Neighborhood for the use of himself or his Company, I beg you will assist him therein; or should you supply him yourself and take his drafts on this Place, you may rely that they will be paid: and I will hold myself accountable. Any services it may be in your Power to render this Gentleman or his Companions I shall be thankful for, and remain.

Sir, Your obedt St.

Robt. Morris.

To Mr. Dunn at Newtown,
Messrs. James Tower Jr. & Co., at
Northumberland, or to any other person to whom Mr. Boulogne, Mr. Adam Hoops and the Gentlemen in their Company may apply; also to Matthias Hollenback Esq., Wilkesbarre.

(Endorsement on the back of the Copy):

I do hereby Certify that the within Letter is a true Copy of the Original, which is in my Hands, as witness my Hand, this 27th day of August A. D. 1793.

Ch'es Bué Boulogne.

These gentlemen struck across the country from Philadelphia to Northumberland, and thence, following the tortuous course of the Susquehanna with its rifts and swift currents, they reached Wilkes-Barre, one of the few important settlements, August 27, 1793. Here they made the acquaintance of Matthias Hollenback, proprietor of several trading posts along the river, to whom they delivered a copy of the letter of Robert Morris, which is still in the possession of Hollenback heirs.

Passing up the lovely Susquehanna, then the only highway, the explorers reached a certain land-locked valley on the north branch of the river called by Indians Missiscum or Meadows, (now a part

*There are many varied accounts of Boulogne. While he doubtless had great ability, he was unquestionably very unscrupulous, and we believe that his unenviable reputation in connection with the founding of Gallipolis, may have given rise to Pontigiband's suspicions, of which later.

of Bradford County), included in the Susquehanna Company's* township of Standing Stone.

Long before Étienne Brulé, the scout of Champlain, had traced out the windings of the Susquehanna; the Indian, whose chosen waterway it was, had marvelled at a great slab of rock projecting some twenty feet from the surface of the river bed. According to Jesse Lukens, a surveyor of 1774, this was called by the Indians "Ossenepachte," which being translated is "Standing Stone," by

Standing Stone

*For full account of Susquehanna Company and Connecticut Claim, see "Old Tioga Point and Early Athens" by Louise Welles Murray. This township was granted to David Smith and associates in 1774 and lost "when the settlement of Wyoming was burnt by the Indians in July, 1778."

which name it has always been known. It seems to have been a landmark from time immemorial.

This stone is 44 ft. high from top to the bed of the river, 16 ft. wide, 4 ft. thick. The lower edge must reach far into the earth to resist, as it has for at least one hundred and fifty years, the irresistible power of freshets. It stands near the right bank of the river, visible from Lehigh Valley R. R. between Rummerfield and Homet's Ferry. Just south of this great stone, in one of the many curves of the river, lies a semicircle of fertile land, with the elevation of an old river terrace, shut in on the landward side by the steep heavily-wooded hills which follow the course of the valley.

On this promising tract of meadowland, the agents of the French found eight lots of three hundred acres each, occupied by Connecticut settlers. According to deed records of Luzerne Co., these eight lots, one of which was a large island, were owned by Robert Cooley's heirs, Charles Townley (two), Robert Alexander, Robert Alexander, Jr., Adelphi Ross, Ebenezer Skinner and Justus Gaylord.* They were not however the earliest settlers, as the plain was called "Schufeldt Flats" after a Palatine emigrant Peter Schufeldt, who had come from the Mohawk region with Rudolph Fox (first settler at Towanda) about 1770, and later moved to the West Branch.

Some of Sullivan's soldiers also had thought the land good, as John, son of Simon Spalding, and Henry Birney had settled here. Mr. Craft says Spalding and Birney came before Revolutionary war, doubtless proprietors under original grant of 1774.

"The locality seemed to Boulogne and Hoops very desirable if both titles could be secured, as it was part of the tract claimed by both Connecticut and Pennsylvania." Hoops soon returned to Wilkes-Barre to assist in securing title, but Boulogne remained, purchasing early in October a farm on the eastern side of the river on his own account as per following argeement (Herrick collection Tioga Point Museum):

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*Note.—According to deed records of Luzerne Co. the following is learned about the transfer of the 8 lots above mentioned:

1. M. Hollenback Adm. to Directors Asylum Co.—300 acres in Asylum—January 8, 1796.

2 & 3. Chas. Townley to Louis de Noailles Nos. 19 & 20, May 28, 1794.

4. Robert Alexander to Louis de Noailles No. 21, January 11, 1794.

5. Robert Alexander Jr. to Louis de Noailles an island known as Standing Stone Island, January 11, 1794.

6. M. Hollenback to Louis de Noailles lot purchased of Adelphi Ross October 9, 1792.

7. Forsyth lot sold at Sheriff sale to Roswell Welles, who to Benajah Stone who to Ebenezer Skinner, June 30, 1793.

8. Lot of Justus Gaylor, Sr. These records were found and copied at Wilkes-Barre by Edward Welles twenty years ago, Deed Books 2, 3, 4, and 7.

"This is to certify that it is agreed by these presents between Mr. John Spalding of Sheshequin. Luzerne County of the one part and Mr. Charles Felix Bué Boulogne of Azylum Company aforesaid of the other part, that the said Mr. John Spalding will deliver to the said Mr. Boulogne a good warranted Deed from and against all persons claiming under title of Connecticut or Pennsylvania a tract of land containing three hundred and twenty acres of land situated at Standing Stone flats being his actual property, the said Deed to be delivered within three months from this date to the said Mr. Boulogne who on the said delivery shall pay for and in consideration of the said bargain to the said Mr. John Spalding the sum of Seven hundred Dollars in the following manner, viz:—

50 Dollars in money or a note of hand pble in 9ber next,
150 D" in his note of hand pble in January 1795—
200 D" in his note of hand pble in July 1795 &
300 D" also in his note of hand pble in January 1796,
the said parties binding themselves reciprocally into a penalty of two hundred Dollars to be paid by the failing parties in order to pay all damages, in witness whereof we have both set our hand and seals to the present agreement, done at Azylum this 24th day of July 1794.

The possession to be given in November next.

(Seal.) John Spalding.
(Seal.) Ch'es Bué Boulogne.

Sealed and delivered in presence of us
Fromentin. D'Autremont."

Matthias Hollenback was engaged to secure Connecticut title, Robert Morris undertaking to secure the Pennsylvania.* Of Morris' methods we are ignorant, but from various records and papers, it is to be inferred that Judge Hollenback had to use not only great tact, but considerable of his own funds. The prices of the lots are said to have varied from $133 to $800. (Just here it may be of interest to note that in a mention of Asylum in a recently published book in France, the author says the land only cost the company fifteen cents an acre.)

In connection with the efforts to secure title the following letter is given entire, and has been called "the charter of Asylum."

(Robert Morris to Matthias Hollenback.)

"Delaware Works, 30 miles from Philadelphia, 9 October 1793—

Sir:

I received your letter of the 14 Septr & also one from Mr. Talon, and forwarded them both to him for his information and consideration. The one addressed to him he has returned with his observations; but that which was directed to me he has neglected to send back: so that if I omit to answer any points contained in it, you must excuse me, as I cannot do it from mere memory.

Messrs De Noailles & Talon desire to make the purchase of the Eight Lotts or Tracts that compose the Tract of Land called the Standing Stone, & also the Island or Islands which they mentioned to you; but they will have all or none; this they insist on as an absolute condition, as you will see by a copy of their observations on nine articles extracted from the contents of your letter to Mr. Talon. They do not object to the prices or terms of payment stated in your letter; but you will perceive by their decision to have all or none, that it will be necessary to make conditional contracts with each of the parties, fixing the terms, & binding them to grant conveyances of their right upon the performance of the conditions by you on your part; but reserving to yourself for a reasonable time to make the bargain valid or to annul it. If you can get the whole of them under such covenants, under hand and seals, you can then make the whole valid, & proceed to perform the conditions, & take the conveyances in the name of Mr. Talon; but should any of the parties refuse to sell, or rise in their demands, so that you cannot comply with them, you can in such case hold the rest in suspense until Mr. Hoops or you send an express to inform me of all particulars; which will give my Friends an opportunity to consider & determine finally.

*The names of those holding Pennsylvania Patents of 1775 as discovered by J. A. Biles, are Archibald Stewart, Wm. Nicholson, David Linsay, Robert Stevens and John Bowne. (Bacom, Bommer or Boehm, four spellings having been used.)

Mr. Adam Hoops will deliver this letter. He possesses my confidence, and will be glad to render the best assistance or service in his power, upon occasion. He must, however, act under you; for in any other character the Connecticut men would consider him a new purchaser, & rise in their demands. He will go with you, if you choose, or do anything you may desire, to accomplish the object in view. You & he will therefore consult together, as to the best mode of proceeding; and I must observe, that altho Mr. Talon has agreed to the prices & terms demanded by the Connecticut claimants, yet I cannot help thinking them very dear; & more so, as we have been obliged to purchase the Pennsylvania Title, which Mr. Hoops will inform you of.

I hold it then as incumbent on you to obtain the Connecticut rights upon the cheapest terms that is possible; and you may with great propriety let them know, if you think it best to do so, that unless they will be content with reasonable terms, that we will bring ejectments against them; or rather that you will do it, & try the strength of Title; in which case they will get nothing.*

Whatever you do must be done soon. Winter is approaching, and these Gentlemen are extremely anxious to commence the operations necessary to the settlement they intend to make; but they will not strike a stroke until the whole of the Lotts are secured for them; & unless the whole are obtained, they will give up the settlement, and will go to some other part of America.

I engage to make good the agreements and contracts you may enter into consistently with your letter of the 14th Septr. last to Mr. Talon, & with his observations thereon; a copy of which Mr. Hoops will give to you if desired; and to enable you to make the payments according to those stipulations, which you may enter into in that respect, I shall also pay the order for a Thousand Dollars already given you on their account.

The settlement which these gentlemen meditate at the Standing Stone is of great importance to you; and not only to you, but to all that part of the Country; therefore you ought for your own interest, & the interest of your country, to exert every nerve to promote it. They will be of great service to you; and you should render them disinterestedly every service possible. Should they fail of establishing themselves at the Standing Stone, there is another part of Pennsylvania which I should prefer for them; and if they go there, I will do every thing for them that I possibly can.—I am, Sir,

Your obedt. h'ble. Servt.,

Robt. Morris.

Matthias Hollenback Esqr.,
Wilkes Barre.

Boulogne and Hoops making a satisfactory report, eventually both titles were obtained, though indeed Boulogne began operations at once, as is indicated in a letter written two months after his first arrival on the ground. And it was not long before he had associates. October 30, he wrote to Hollenback: "M. Dupetithouar and all his hands arrived here yesterday, also M. Perrault. M. Talon expects to be here the 6th or the 8th of next month."

*The author having been given the privilege in 1910 of examining all papers of Matthias Hollenback, it was found that he either paid cash or gave his notes in obtaining these titles, and the greater part was never refunded as promised by either Robert Morris or the Asylum Company. Not only so, but suits were brought against him by several of the parties, and he finally brought suit himself against Robert Morris, after repeated appeals to the officers of the Company. For further information see "Hollenback's Claim" in Appendix.

Standing Stone, 8ber 19th, 1793.

Mr. Mathias Hollenback,
Wilkes-Barre
Sir:

I received by Mr. Town the favor of yours dated 11th instant, and your boat also arrived here few days after; all that was enumerated in your bill hath been delivered, and you are therefore credited on my account of L48.10.2, this Currency; when you'll send me the price of the ox-cart, cows and bull. I shall do the same.

The cows are exceeding poor, and hardly give any milk; but I hope they will come to, and therefore we will see one another on that account; but I cannot help observing to you that your blacksmith hath not treated us well; the chains and tools are hardly worth any things; the iron is so bad or so tender that it bend like butter; I wish you mention it to him for the future.

The difficulty of having the buildings and great many articles of provisions in proper time hath determined us and the gentlemen in Philadelphia to lessen them, and as Mr. Keating hath told you, the expense will of course be lessened; therefore I have not sent you the draft for 3000 Dollars which we spoke of when I was in Wilkesbarre, and one* of the gentlemen who will deliver you this letter is going to Philadelphia; if you are not gone will be very glad of your company; will as well as you see Messrs. Talon & De Noailles in that city and send or bring their answer on things relating to the expences.

I will be obliged to you to deliver the other gentleman who is coming back here Directly as much money as you possibly can, or the 1250 Dollars which remain in your hands for my draft on Robert Morris Esqre and you'll take his receipt and charge it to my account.

You may also make me debtor for the sum of L13.17.6, which Mr. Joshua Whitney hath given me for your account, and of which you'll dispose according to the note herein enclosed, having credited you here of the same.

Esqre Hancock hath not yet concluded his Bargain with Gaylord & Skinner, you know it is of the greatest importance to have it concluded as well as the one of Ross, otherwise it will stop me here all at once, the gentlemen in Philadelphia being determined to have the whole or none at all, or to reject the whole purchase from Mr. Morris.

In your letter you speak to me of having bought from Ross the house and part of the Land, but you don't tell me the quantity of Land; I hope you have concluded the whole, and beg on you to say some thing to me on that account in your Letter and explain it well, because according to your answer I shall either go on with the buildings or stop them Directly.

I remain with esteem, Yours,
Ch'es Bué Boulogne.

(Postscript)
Sir:

In buying from Mr. Ross you must absolutely buy the crop which is in the ground. Everybody here is very sorry you have not done it so for the other purchase, because it keeps us one year entirely without enjoying our property.

I have received the cloth that was over Mr. Talon's boat, but you have forgot to send me by your boat the frying pan, salt, axes, &c., that Mr. Ross hath return to you; be kind enough to send by the first opportunity the sack of things belonging to Michael—which by mistake I sent or left at your house."

The purchase as concluded was of 2400 acres, the northwest corner being the aforementioned "Standing Stone." The title deed reading:

*d'Autremont who had come from the Chenango to confer with Boulogne.

"Beginning at a remarkable rock on the western side of the Susquehanna river known as the Standing Stone,"

and the conveyances being legally executed early in 1794. The whole was so accurately surveyed that ever since surveyors have come there from long distances to get their bearings. Soon after Morris and Nicholson as directors of the Asylum Company cut through a bridle path from the Lackawanna over the mountains to Wyalusing.

The name of Asylum (as the French wrote and pronounced it Azylum or "*Azilum,*") was given to the plot. The original map is still in existence, in possession of Bradford County Historical Society, Towanda, Pa. (Copy of original at back of volume.) Judge Laporte said the original surveyor was a Frenchman whose name was De Graff. Having been folded always it became so worn, that about 1840 Judge Laporte had an accurate copy of plot executed, now in Tioga Point Museum at Athens, Pa.

The town plot covered three hundred acres; it was laid out in the form of a parallelogram as carefully and daintily as a toy village. Its greatest length was north and south, with a large market square in the center containing two acres on which has been placed a boulder and tablet, commemorating the settlement. Five streets ran due north and south, crossed by nine running east and west, the middle one much wider than the others (one hundred ft.), making four hundred and thirteen lots in the town plot of about one-half acre each. Along the river bank were small houses for the slaves.* Toward the hills next to the plot were seventeen larger lots numbered and others not numbered. These were uncleared, varying in size. One hundred thousand acres of wild land were also purchased by subscription on the Loyal Sock Creek, two thousand five hundred of which was divided into town shares of four hundred acres each. When any part of this wild land was cleared by a subscriber he received nine dollars per acre out of the common funds. The streets were sixty-six feet broad, and were a marvel to the country round, as later were the roads built to reach the more distant clearings; for the Yankee settler of that era was accustomed to satisfy himself with the natural

*One might judge from the following appeal that the slaves soon learned they were where they could be their own masters. This is addressed to M. Hollenback:

"Azilum 1 April '96 Sir, I hope you will not take it ill if I address myself to you and claim your assistance. A negro man about twenty years of age stoutly built ran away from my house night before last, he can hardly speak a word of English, he took away a new axe, a couple of new shirts, several prs of linen and cloth trousers, 2 blankets, and had on a hat with a blue ribbon—he says that he is free though he is bound for no less than fourteen years. I would take it as a great favor, sir, if you would be so kind as to have him advertised. I shall give 5 dollars reward and pay all reasonable charges. If in return I could be of any service to you sir please to dispose of your

very obedient humble servant

LAROUE

highway, the river, or with the narrow rough trail cut by Sullivan's army in 1779; and the hundreds of dollars spent by the French in building roads was to the Yankee incomprehensible.

Equally incomprehensible was the natural French taste for landscape gardening and love of trees, where they did not obscure the view. The French abhorred the Yankee mode of clearing. "You would think," wrote one of them, "that the American had an inborn aversion to trees." And where the forest trees had all been cut down, the French planted Lombardy poplars, weeping willows and various fruit trees to redeem the barren appearance of the town.

An Asylum Company was organized April 25, 1794 with Robert Morris as President and Omer Talon and Adam Hoops agents. Mr. Craft says: "Fabulous sums of money were anticipated as the result of this speculation." The capital stock was to consist of a million acres or 5000 shares of 200 acres each. In April, 1795, new articles of association were formed with some prudent changes. But the practical abandonment of the colony, and the fact that the money which was to have been paid in France to Morris' son from Talon's estate was not forthcoming, proved this company also unsuccessful. In 1801 only 2000 shares had been taken, and the company was again reorganized. This last company secured the title to large tracts of land in Sullivan, Lycoming and Luzerne counties and sold to actual settlers. See note.*

September 1, 1808, at a meeting of the Board, the trusteeship was conveyed to Archibald McCall, John Ashley, and Thomas Astley in trust for the use of the Asylum Company. The trust deed conveying lands, tenements, &c., forming the common stock of funds of the said Asylum Company was executed Nov. 3, 1808. As the country was settled, many of the company's lands were sold. The residue, ten to twenty thousand acres was sold to Hon. Wm. Jessup of Montrose, March 4, 1843; he subsequently conveyed the

*In the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a Minute Book of the Asylum Co. Though its title is "Minutes of the Association of 1795," the meetings recorded extend only from April 7, 1802 to December 1804. With these minutes is a list of receipts for certificates of stock with holders' signatures, like the one at beginning of book.

The entries in Minute Book refer chiefly to an exchange of old certificates for new ones. There is also a subscription list with autograph signatures. This list contains many names hitherto unknown in connection with Asylum.

There is also in this collection (Philadelphia) a Catalogue of the Lands and Stock of the Asylum Co. offered for sale at the Merchants' Coffee house in pursuance of the 21st Article of Association of the said company, dated 1819. This catalogue gives no date for sale, or terms; simply lists of tracts and their location; also, unsatisfied warrants, and shares in Easton & Wilkes-Barre Turnpike, and in Susquehanna & Tioga Turnpike. A projected road from Berwick to Newtown, now Elmira, which was to run through Asylum lands, therefore considerable stock was taken by trustees of Company. Some of their certificates are in possession of the writer.

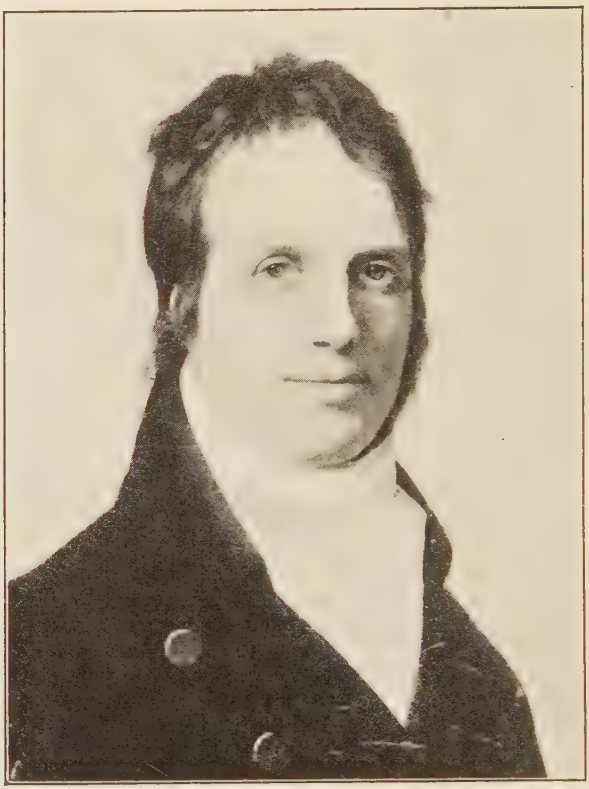
Diligent inquiry at the City Hall, Philadelphia, proves that none of the Articles of Association were ever recorded there. The Hist. Soc. of Penna. does not assume to know, but doubts that any articles were ever recorded. For all these Articles of Association see Appendix.

same to Michael Meylert of Laporte, the title to some of which is held by the trustees of his estate today. See Appendix.

The following description is from a deed of Trustees of Asylum Company to John Keating dated 1812:

"Whereas the association of the Asylum Company was established the twenty second day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety four, and improved the twenty fifth day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety five by articles of agreement by and between Robert Morris Esquire and others his associates of the one part, and John Nicholson, and his associates of the other part; and on the said twenty fifth of April One thousand seven hundred and ninety five the interest of the associates aforesaid and also of the said Robert Morris, had been purchased by and were vested in the aforesaid John Nicholson, and his capital stock of the said company was by the said John Nicholson conveyed to Jared Ingersol and Mathew Clarkson as Trustees, to hold the same as a jointenancy in trust to convey the same agreeably to the articles made and executed the twenty second of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety four. AND WHEREAS on the twenty sixth of October One thousand eight hundred and one, certain further articles of agreement and association were made and executed between the members of the said Asylum Company, whereon and whereby among other things, it was provided, that the legal title to the lands of the association should be vested in two or more trustees who should hold the same in jointenancy in trust to convey the same to purchasers and others agreeably to these articles; AND whereas the said Archibald McCall, John Ashley and Thomas Astley having expended large sums of money in protecting the interest of the said company, under Judgments, Liens and otherwise, and incurred heavy expenses, and made disbursements for the same; and having by sundry purchases and conveyances, at different times to them made by the marshal of the United States of the District of Pennsylvania, the Commissioners of the Counties of Lycoming Luzerne and the Commissioners appointed under the Act of Assembly for recovering the debt due from the estate of John Nicholson to the commonwealth, and also by a conveyance executed to them as trustees on the twenty third of November, one thousand eight hundred and eight by Jared Ingersol, Esquire who survived Mathew Clarkson, in pursuance of a resolution of the board on the first of September in the same year, became and now are seized and possessed of all lands and other estate and property which heretofore belonged to, or was conveyed or intended to be conveyed to the said company; AND whereas by the nineteenth section of the further Articles of association, made and executed on the twenty sixth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and one, it is provided that the trustees for the time being shall upon receiving a request in writing signed by the board of managers and attested by the Secretary, convey such real estate or property vested in them as may be mentioned in such request and in manner as therein directed."

Among the refugees from San Domingo there was one who was particularly recommended to de Noailles and Talon, doubtless by General Rochambeau. Of noble Irish ancestry, but French by adoption, enthusiastic, yet cool headed, able and tactful, John Keating was just the man to be associated with them in their enterprise. His admirable business qualities, command of English and skill as an interpreter proved invaluable both at the settlement, and in Wilkes-Barré and Philadelphia, and he seems to have been continually traveling back and forth, though his



John Keating.

This portrait was painted in Paris in 1801 on the occasion of John Keating's visit to Europe in connection with the Ceres Land Company.

memoirs show that he had residence at Asylum; and according to tax lists, he at one time owned six houses there. He and Talon became very intimate, they were just of an age.

To Boulogne was entrusted the supervision of workmen in clearing land and erecting houses, though later on Montullé had entire charge of clearing. Building was a most difficult business, with all supplies, even lumber, having to be ordered from Wilkes-Barré and pushed up the river in Durham boats, four or five days being required for an ordinary trip. (See Chapter II. on "Business Methods.") Early in the life of the colony financial troubles began, which may have been magnified by the irritable, querulous

disposition of Boulogne, who had charge of ordering supplies and money to pay workmen, and who seems to have had some misunderstandings with Matthias Hollenback at Wilkes-Barré. Mr. Hollenback had trading posts along the river, and Morris and de Noailles had arranged with him to furnish ready money and supplies as needed. But complaints were frequent, perhaps because Boulogne's demands for money were unprecedented in the wilderness where farm produce was generally used as specie. October 30, 1793, M. Boulogne wrote to Matthias Hollenback:

"M. Dupetithouar with all his hands arrived here yesterday, and also M. Perrault. The last brought me a letter from M. Talon who tells me he expects to be here the 6th or the 8th of next month."

In November de Noailles paid a short visit to Asylum to give directions to Boulogne and to arrange business matters with Mr. Hollenback and others. This was his first and only visit to the colony for which he hoped so much. During the rest of its existence he watched over the interests in Philadelphia, leaving Talon to be the visible head and guiding genius. During his stay it is supposed the plan of the town was decided on and the name of Asylum chosen.

The following letter has been found since publication of first edition, written at Wilkes-Barré; November 8, 1793; note the quaint English.

"To M. Hollenback,

Dear Sir:

I received the letter you favourized me with on friday. I was unhappy enough to miss you at Wilkesbarre where I arrived few hours after your departure. I shall proceed to Standing Stone and be back on next Saturday morning the 16th to Wilkesbarre, I will spend the evening in the town, and go to Philadelphia early Sunday morning. I hope I shall meet you at Wilkesbarre—I wish you will do the greatest diligence that I may have a conversation with you on our business, believe me dear sir your most obedient and humble servant

Vis. Noailles."

That he remained only a week is shown by date of a letter which he carried on his return trip.

(Boulogne to Hollenback, Nov. 15, 1793, by the hand of Viscount de Noailles.)

Standing Stone, 9ber ye 15th 1793

Sir:

I do not know if Mr Alexander hath delivered you a Letter which I wrote to you day before yesterday, 2 hours before the arrival of the Vicomte de Noailles: in case you had not received that letter before the arrival of this one I wish you would be kind enough to send me as quick as possible 40 bushels of slack'd lime and some Lead sheet for four roofs windows. I want them absolutely to complete the buildings here. If you could also send me few Barrils of salted fish on reasonable terms you would oblige me, and if you cannot, in your answer pray let me know what is their common weight and price.

In the conversation I had here with Mr De Noailles rendering my account, he seemed to me to think I had received from you more than one thousand Dollars, and particularly as if it was the 66 Dollars & 2-3 which you deducted from the 400 Dollars you first gave me. I suppose it is a mistake in understanding because you may easily recollect the circumstances and if I do myself my account in your Ledger is settled right. I wish you would examine it with the Vicomte de Noailles and Mr. Keating and write me about it because I am very certain the deduction hath been made.

I shall want immediately for the payment of the workmen Labourers and mechanics I have here about two thousand two hundred Dollars, viz. about 1200 by the return of Mr. d'Autremont who will be at Wilkesbarre as soon as the Viscount de Noailles and the other thousand dollars if I don't draw upon you for the amount in favour of some of the workmen who reside in your place in about a fortnight or three weeks from this date.

In case your business should call you from town, I hope and beg on you that you'll leave a word to Mrs Hollenback or your clerk to give the sum I call for: we are too distant from one another to be or have always somebody on the road for a trifle, and I must own it I was really surprised when Mr d'Autremont whom I had sent for 1000 dollars came back with 20, and more so when on your return from Philadelphia you only sent me 200.

It now come into my mind that when you said or when Mr. de Noailles understood that I had received over than 1000 dollars may be you included the amount of the goods which you have sent me; but on the other side I understand that we are to have terms for the payment of the supplies, and keep the ready cash for the payment of the workmen.

Therefore I beg on you to clear the matter between Mr de Noailles and you, and have it in such a light that I might know perfectly on what I can depend.

I remain with Consideration, Sir,

Yours,

Ch'es Bué Boulogne.

You may deduct on the aforesaid sum the 60 pounds to be paid to Messrs Kellogg & Delano. C. B.

The needs and trials of Boulogne and his associates are shown in the following letters to Mr. Hollenback:

Standing Stone, Xber 9th 1793

Sir:

I received your two letters one of the 2d the other of the 5th instant, as also the 11 small tables and 21 window frames from Mess. Kellogg & Delano in your boat, who hath arrived here this morning with the one of Mr. Myer, bringing part of the goods of Mr. Talon from Catawasay.

Mr. Talon arrived here this morning as I was concluding the Bargain with Mr. Ross for his Land here. You'll see by the perusal of this agreement that he is to receive from us otherwise by you the sum of fifty three pounds at the time of the signing and acknowledging the deed; and in order to enable you to make this payment I send you within this letter two Bank notes each of one hundred Dollars, viz: 100 Dollars United States Bank No1917 order Wm Wirt, dated Jany, 1792, signed Thos. Willing Presidt & John Kean Cashier: the other of also 100 Dollars same Bank No. 9 order of G. Aston dated 2d Xber 1791, signed as above.

As those 200 Dollars will be more and above what will be necessary for the payment to be made to Mr. Ross if he complyes with the con-

ditions of the Bargain, which we hope you'll see fulfilled, I shall be obliged to you to send me by the first opportunity fifty Dollars in cash or in small bills of five Dollars.

I am told by Mr. Keating you intend to come up here yourself; therefore if you could at the same time bring with you cash or small bills for 1, 2, or 3 hundred Dollars, we should give you in return some bills of one hundred and you would oblige us.

Mr Talon desires you would send him as quick as possible the 6 oxen beef he hath engaged from you; he wishes also you would send the same some unguent for sore legs, & some Peruvian bark &ca; and 3 or four franklin stoves with pipes; if they can be got second hand so much the better.

Tell the masons & joiners not to loose a moment in coming up; don't forget to send some Leather or some shoes.

I shall write to you without fault by the Post of next Monday.

Don't forget to have the titles of Mr Ross well examined before you give anything, and see that he agrees with his brother's heirs.

I'll be obliged to you to write to me by the first opportunity on account of the 200 Dollars herein enclosed.

Standing Stone, Xber 1st 1793.

Sir:

This particularly is to beg on you to send as quick as possible the window frames, the lime and lead I have ask you; the remainder of the goods which Mr Dupetit Thouars hath left behind, and particularly the nails. If in the boat you could add 5 or 600 feet of good seasoned boards they are very much wanted here, and 50 or 60 pairs of shoes; our American people here are all without & they would soon be sold.

Standing Stone, Xber 23d 1793.

Sir:

The mason Wm Dunmead hath arrived here thursday last 19th instant, Holstead (Halstead?) and the two others masons have also arrived here Saturday 21st instant and are going back this day because the weather does not permit them to work. By the same reason which hinders me from giving 7 dollars to Hatwatter I beg of you to settle with the masons & charge it to our account.

I remain, Sir, Yours,

Ch'es Bué Boulogne.

As shown in the letters, winter came on before any houses were completed. The arrival of many of the settlers was postponed, and those on the ground made the best of the log huts of the Yankee settlers, heating those without chimneys with the Franklin stoves sent from Wilkes-Barré. That must have been a long and dreary winter; supplies were delayed and at one time the prospect of a famine must have been serious. But with the coming of spring everything was pushed with greatest rapidity. From the many letters calling for building supplies, one would think there were as many mails a day as now with railroad facilities.

(Boulogne to Hollenback, Feb. 27, 1794.)

February 27th 1794.

Mathias Hollenback Esqre

Sir:

This is to give you advice of my draught for Mr. Talon accompt, upon you this day at 10 days sight order of Joel Greener for fifty Dollars to which draught I beg on you to do a good reception: you'll oblige, Sir,

Yours,

Ch'es Bué Boulogne.

(Boulogne to Hollenback, April 30, 1794.)

Azylum, April 30th 1794.

Sir:

I Received by Benj. Slocum's boat the boxes Casks &ca mentioned in your last. This one will be favoured to you by Mr Dandlau, one of our gentlemen who is kind enough to go to your place to see what can be the reason why Blanchard does not come back with the plough, harrow-teeth chains, &ca. I have heard here he was taken sick. I am sorry of it, but as we want those things immediately on account of sowing, planting &ca, you'll oblige me very much to have those articles delivered to him and send them immediately in the canoe Blanchard had from us; and as we want also 300 lbs. German steel, 600 lbs. iron for cart wheels, ½ inches thick & 2 inches wide, if it can be had, otherwise send it as you generally make use of for your wheels; 4 or 5 Bundles of strong nails rods for making nails about 5 inches long, half a gross of H-L inges (hinges) 11 inches, for hanging doors, a gross of H-L 6 inches Inges for hanging windows, a couple of doz. of Latches & Ketches; those Inges, Latches & Ketches of the best quality you have and the neatest; a small baril of 20 penny nails, 1 baril of 10 penny dto, 1 dto of 8 penny, 1 small ditto of 6 & 4 penny, and the same quantity of brads. I shall be obliged to you to deliver to him also those articles immediately, and find him some men to come up the river with the canoe Blanchard went down with, and the one that was left in your care last fall by the Viscount de Noailles. I suppose those 2 canoes will be sufficient to bring the whole, as also 18 spades & 6 shovels, 6 grubbing howes.

I have already wrote to you on account of some fat cattle to be sent here. I beg on you also to send with them two good yoke of working oxen, and 6 yoke and bow for them and others.

Pray loose no time in sending a wagon to Mr Heller to have the remainder of the goods that are there, for we are in the greatest want; and if possible keep your boat ready to have them as well as other wagons that I am informed are coming, as quick as possible; and be kind enough to see if they are in good order.

I don't expect I shall make use of the money which Mr Keating & Mr Talon writes me to take from you, amounting to 300 Dollars, other ways than for the payment of the draft already given upon you, and a bill I have given Mr Town, which amount to 133 Dollars, and which he hath remitted to Mr Butler; or for the payment of small matters which the Bearer may want in his journey.

I remain with esteem, Yours,

Ch'es Boulogne.

Please to send some body with the bearer at (to) Blanchard's house in order to know exactly what are the things that were to be delivered to him. Send me also one doz. small cast iron pots, 1 gridiron 6 kettle and 2 good Bushels, stamped. The men that are to come with the canoes will find themselves in provisions & liquors.

(Outside address.)

Maths Hollenback Esqre Wilkesbarre: in his absence to his Lady or their clerk. Favoured by Mr Dandlau.

Soon the emigrés began to arrive from Philadelphia, some by the way of Catawissa and others doubtless by the way of Bethlehem and Wilkes-Barré, where they found Matthias Hollenback ever ready to assist them in any way, though he must have been tried by their demands and complaints. Yet they were brave indeed to face the toilsome and tedious journey before them, braver no doubt by reason of the enthusiasm and hopeful anticipations of Talon and Keating who seemed to have travelled back and forth all winter.

Who can imagine the thoughts of those aristocrats on arriving at this primitive settlement in the heart of a wilderness, lonely and inaccessible! Accustomed to the luxuries of Parisian life, or the tropical luxuriance of the West Indies, fancy the change to rude log houses surrounded by an almost unbroken forest, and every supply of the most ordinary kind to be had only in Wilkes-Barré, seventy-five miles away. But here at least they were safe from Robespierre and the guillotine! So the real life began at Asylum. The thirty dwelling houses, often very small, were not at all palatial, nor indeed such as a Parisian had ever dreamed of; in fact, simply log houses, hewn logs to be sure, and sometimes shingled over, often lacking chimneys, the stones for which had to be picked up. To the Yankees they seemed palaces with their extravagances in chimneys, doors, staircases, window glass, shutters and even piazzas and summer houses; the latter a necessity for the French, accustomed to the beauties of Versailles and Petit Trianon. Some quaint little shops rose around the square, a school house, a small chapel, and, as soon as the necessary buildings were completed, a theatre. In the interior the houses had good floors, and as a rule were papered and very presentable, in fact the French people throughout their stay spent more on so-called luxuries than on necessities. A few had furniture and other articles brought from France, jealously hoarded even until today. Some chairs from Talon's house, and a handsome copper friar are now in the museum at Athens, also a copper candlestick brought over by Lefevre and a tureen brought by Charles Homet; the handle of its cover is the fleur-de-lis of France, though we believe it is Austrian ware.

Talon, the head of the colony, with his love of order, resolute will and generous hospitality, seemed equal to every emergency. How his heart must have swelled with pleasure as he saw the little community, to which he had given his whole thought and energy for so many months, begin to take on a homelike and industrious air. How he must have rejoiced that through his

efforts so many poor fugitives would know again the pleasures of home and the society of fellow countrymen, though their dearest ones were separated from them for a time. Here there was a leveling of social barriers, and priest, canon and noble became shop and inn keepers and tillers of the soil, rich and poor all friends together. And with what joyful anticipations he must have looked forward to the coming of the Queen, for it is generally acknowledged that it was for the Royal fugitives that this asylum was planned. It seems, however, that the death of the King must have been known, or that he was never expected, for the houses built for royalty's use were always known as the "Queen's Houses." Besides the house, built by Talon in the town plot and afterward occupied by him, deep in the woods on the Loyal Sock road near West Terry or New Era, was begun a spacious house or two, and a chapel, a large bakery; and other buildings were planned; these were in charge of Charles Homet and were intended for a hiding place for the Queen, a fact contradicted only by writers not well informed. "In the journal of Gouverneur Morris are veiled allusions and some outspoken admissions which point to a scheme cautiously concocted by a number of Frenchmen and Americans, whereby the King and Queen were to make their escape to America. That the scheme never matured was due to the King's fatal habit of temporizing and the Queen's distrust of her friends." The plan was to have been carried out on July 14, 1792, a date coinciding with the arrival at Philadelphia of de Noailles, said to be the active originator of the American end of the project. Strange irony of fate, even before they were completed, the unhappy Queen had followed her husband to the guillotine! The suspension of intercourse between France and

America and the arduous journey between the colony and Philadelphia, accounts for the long delay in the sad news reaching the colony.

The Queen en route to the guillotine

[Letter written by Marie Antoinette just before her execution at which time she showed "indomitable courage and pious submission." Inserted by request of Theresa Homet Patterson.]

"This 15th Oct., at half past four in the morning.

"I write you, my sister, for the last time. I have been condemned, not to an ignominious death, that only awaits criminals, but to go and rejoin your brother. Innocent as he, I hope to show the same firmness as he did in these last moments. I grieve bitterly at leaving my poor children; you know that I existed but for them and you—you who have by your friendship sacrificed all to be with us. In what a position do I leave you! I have learned, by the pleadings on my trial, that my daughter was separated from you. Alas!—poor child—I dare not write to her; she would not receive my letter; I know not even if this may reach you. Receive my blessing for both. I hope one day, when they are older, they may rejoin you, and rejoice in liberty at your tender care. May they both think on what I have never ceased to inspire them with! May their friendship and mutual confidence form their happiness! May my daughter feel that at her age she ought always to aid her brother with that advice with which the greater experience

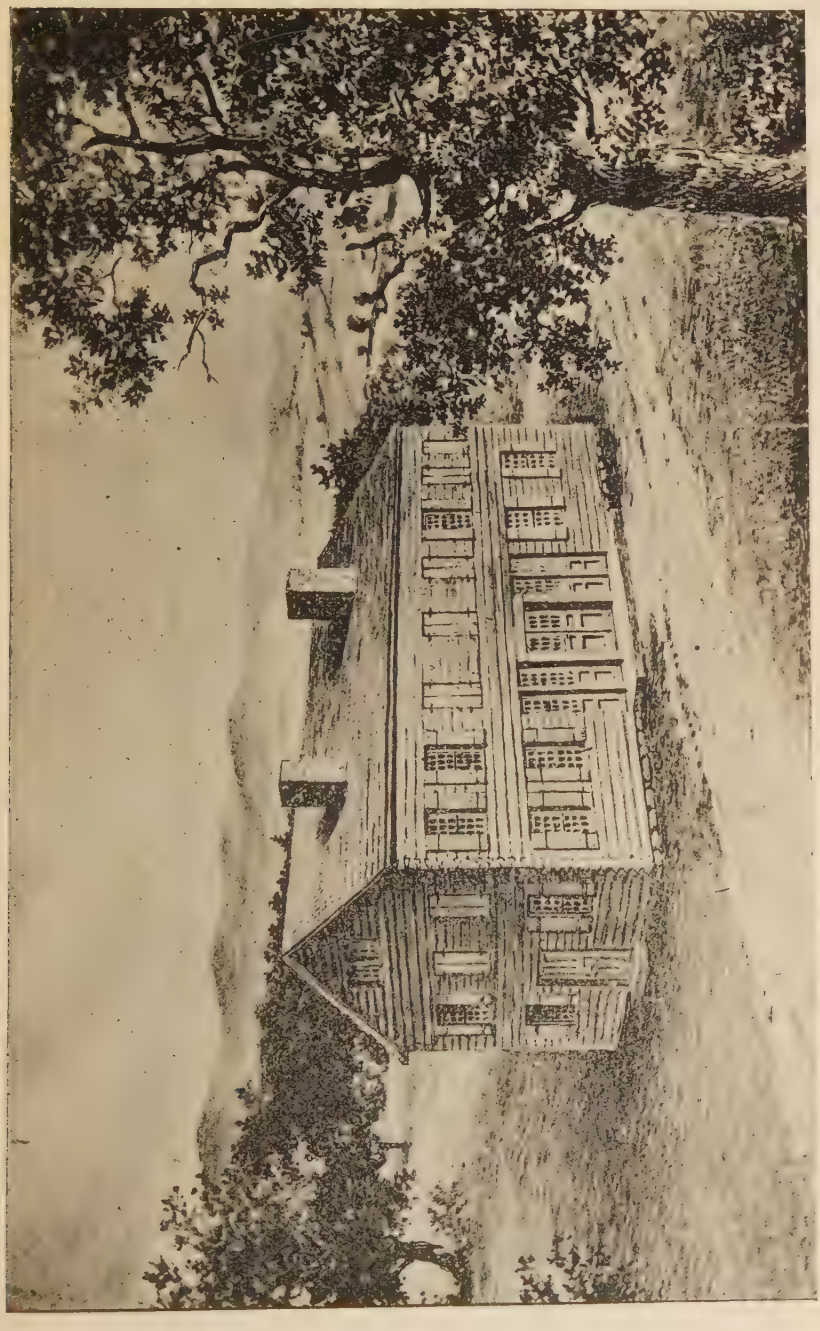
she possesses, and her friendship, should inspire her! May my son, on his part render to his sister every care and service which affection can dictate! May they, in short, both feel, in whatever position they may find themselves, that they can never be truly happy but by their union! Let them take example by us. How much consolation has our friendship given us in our misfortunes! And, in happiness, to share it with a friend is doubly sweet. Where can one find any more tender or dearer than in one's own family? Let my son never forget the last words of his father. I repeat to him expressly:—'*Let him never attempt to avenge our death!*'

"I must now speak to you of a matter most painful to my heart. I know how much trouble this child must have given you. Pardon him, my dear sister; think of his age, and how easy it is to make a child say what one wishes, and what he even does not comprehend. A day will arrive, I hope, when he will the better feel all the value of your kindness and affection for them both. It still remains to me to confide to you my last thoughts. I had desired to write them from the commencement of the trial; but, exclusively of their not permitting me to write, the proceedings have been so rapid that I should really not have had the time.

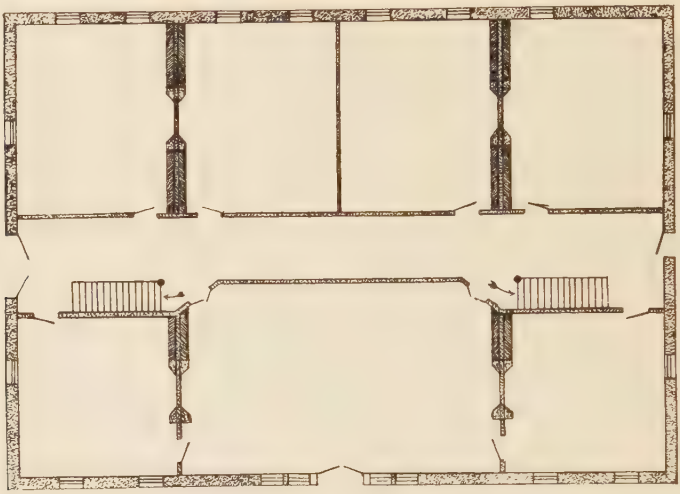
"I die in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion; in that of my fathers; in that in which I have been bred, and which I have always professed, having no spiritual consolation to expect, not knowing if priests of this religion still exist here—and even the place in which I am would expose them too much, were they once to enter it. I sincerely ask pardon of God for all the errors I may have committed during my life. I hope that, in His kindness, He will accept my last vows, as well as those I have long since made, that He may vouchsafe to receive my soul in his mercy and goodness. I ask pardon of all those with whom I am acquainted, and of you, my sister, in particular, for all the trouble which, without desiring it, I may have caused you. I forgive all my enemies the evil they have done me. I say here adieu to my aunts, and to all my brothers and sisters. I had friends, and the idea of being separated forever from them and their sorrows, causes me the greatest regret I experience in dying. Let them, at least, know that in my last moments I have thought of them. Adieu, my good and kind sister! May this letter reach you! Think of me always! I embrace you with all my heart, as well as those poor and dear children.. . . . My God, how heartrending it is to quit them for ever! Adieu! . . . . Adieu! . . . . I ought no longer to occupy myself, but with my spiritual duties. As I am not mistress of my actions, they may bring me perhaps a priest. But I here protest that I will not tell him one word, and that I will treat him absolutely as a stranger."

"Marie."

The house built by Talon was the most pretentious in the settlement, and is said to have been the largest log house ever built in America. Elizabeth Laporte said her grandfather always called it "the Queen's House;" but it is generally known as "La Grande Maison," or the great house, and is so called in all laborer's accounts. It was built of hewn logs with a plain sloping roof, shingled. *There were no shingles on the sides.* It was about eighty-four feet long and sixty feet wide, two stories high, with a spacious attic. There were four stacks of chimneys and eight fireplaces on each floor. The windows were all square, with no hooded or dormer effects, with small square panes of glass. There were heavy, solid wooden shutters on the windows. On each floor



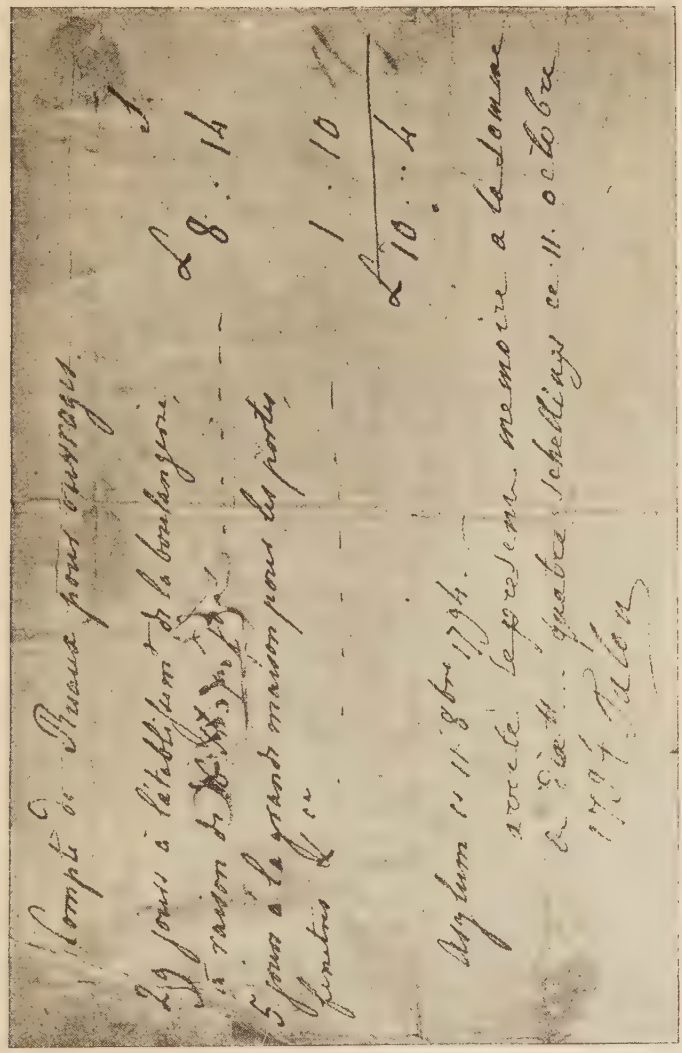
The Queen's House



Plan of Ground Floor

was a hall the entire length, from eight to twelve feet wide, with outside door at each end, on ground floor the south door facing the road, with three rooms on the side facing the river and four on the other. The four rooms were of equal size. On the river side the middle room was twice the size of the others in length and extended into the hall with double doors set crosswise on each corner, opposite each of which was a broad flight of stairs to the second story, and here the large room and two flights of stairs were the same. In each end of this room were fireplaces, one much larger than the other. So large indeed that when it was used by the Laportes as a kitchen, oxen drew the back logs right into the room. The mantel was about as high as a man's head. In the center of the side was a double door with the upper half set with small panes of glass. Each side of this door were French windows, very large, opening from the floor nearly to the ceiling. Plain board ceiling was used instead of plaster for walls, most of the woodwork plain and unpainted, though the lower stairs had newell posts and rails of black walnut. This house was built on lot No. 418 just north of the house now standing, built by Judge Laporte in 1839, now owned by the Hagerman family. This description is from the recollections of Elizabeth Laporte and of her cousins Julius and Charlotte Brown who occupied it for several years. Receipted workmen's accounts corroborate their statement that there was a large barn on the premises, about three hundred by fifty feet, and an ell of sheds one hundred and fifty feet long,

showing the ample provision made for travelers. Some of the original oak trees stood near the house, many fruit trees were planted, and the whole enclosed by a fence. The Browns told of another house described by Judge Laporte about a half mile from the



"old block house" the location called "the Prospect Rock" which may have been the picnic place. "The Queen's House" was torn down in 1846 for fear of fire. Traces of the foundation are still in evidence. In this great house was dispensed the hospitality of the settlement. As long as it stood, the large room was called

the French ladies' drawing room; here doubtless gathered all the famous visitors to the colony. Here perhaps were breathed oaths of loyalty to Louis Philippe, whom they hoped soon to see on the throne! What brilliant conversation these walls echoed! Alas, there have come down to us but two or three amusing little stories of the gatherings here.

Though the winters were long and dreary the summer heat was far more fierce than ever known in "Belle Paris." The first time the writer ever heard of Asylum was when a little child she was riding by with Chas. F. Welles of Wyalusing. After pointing out the location and the picnic rock, he added this anecdote told to him by one of the old pioneers. Entering the drawing room (evidently unannounced) he found the great dames seated around the apartment, all complaining bitterly of the intense heat. Skirts were daintily lifted, while slave girls, seated on the floor, industriously plied fans to cool their mistresses' ankles!

At another time a great dinner was in progress in this room. Talon's butler, always too fond of the wine which he served, spilled some soup on a guest; as he had been repeatedly reprimanded for similar offenses, his master's anger knew no bounds. Yet servants were not plenty in Asylum, so Talon called for his faithful friend and land steward, Laporte, and said "Will you be my butler?" Laporte protested, but Talon refused to forgive the offender, and the feast went on with the wine merchant serving in Wallois' place.

The only other house at all remembered was doubtless that of Boulogne, hastily built for accommodation of first comers. It was large, having twelve equal sized rooms on each floor, with a small fireplace in one corner of each, arranged for by three stacks of chimneys, one to each four rooms, three staircases, three closets, and on the lower floor twenty-two doors. This house, like that of Talon, was torn down. It was on present Kerrick property.

There is in existence an accurate description of another house and surroundings in the settlement; by careless writers often confounded with that of Talon. It was comparitively near. Examination of the map shows that both of these houses and Talon's also, were just outside the plot of small lots. Gui de Noailles was from St. Domingo; we have not learned that he was related to General de Noailles. The de Siberts were also from St. Domingo where they had great wealth, and a large plantation. Dennis M. Cottineau and Luce his wife, originally had the house and lot No. 417, mentioned in this agreement. Cottineau was one of the original

shareholders, and a famous character. He was Captain of the ship *Pallas* in the well known action between Bonhomme Richard and *Serapis*. His wife is only known by name. He advanced money to the Asylum Company.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN BERCY de SIBERT AND GUI de NOAILLES

Made December 23, 1797—both of Asylum.

Mrs. Sibert had purchased Nos. 416 & 417 of the Asylum Company and agrees with Gui de Noailles to convey the same—the property is described as containing the following improvements: On No. 416 stands a log house 30x18 covered with nailed shingles, the house is divided into 2 lower rooms and 2 in the upper story, the lower ones are papered, on both sides of the house stand two small buildings of the same kind, one is used for a kitchen, the other being papered is commonly called the dining room, both these buildings have good fire places and a half story. Three rooms in the biggest house have fire places, the two side buildings and the other are joined together by a piazza, there is a good cellar under the dining room, the yard is enclosed by a nailed pale fence and there is a good double gate, the garden has a like fence, a constant stream of water runs through it, over the spring a spring house has been erected, it is divided into two rooms one of which is floored, the garden is decorated by a considerable number of fruit trees, young Lombardy populars and weeping willows and by a lattice summer house, next to the garden is a nursery of about 900 apples trees, the lower part of the lot forms a piece of meadow of about 8 acres inclosed by a post and rail fence, on the same lot No. 416 stands a horse grist mill, the building is 40x34, part of the lower story is contrived into a stable for the mill horses and a cow stable—part of the upper story is used to keep fodder—the mill is double geared and in complete order, being furnished with a pair of good stones, a good bolting cloth and in one corner stands a fire place. Above the mill runs a never failing spring which waters a great part of the meadow. On No. 417 stands a good log house 20x18 covered with nailed shingles which is used as a barn but might be inhabited as there are two good grooved floors and a winding staircase. The lower part is under the best fence well cleared, and part of it was put last fall in winter grain &C

(Signed)

Witnessed by

Peter Regnier — Bercy de Seibert

Joseph Delaroue (or Delarony)

Recorded at Wilkes-Barre, Vol. 5, p 260 of Deeds records

Talon devoted much time and attention to the roads, and is said to have spent $3,000 on them in one year. His best work of this sort was the one leading to Laddsburg "which ran from Benjamin Moody's corner, over by Strong's and Brown's spring lake, by Fitzgerald's dishmill and the site of the Queen's hiding place in the woods on to Laddsburg" and is still known as the old French road. Doubtless more labor was expended on this because it led to the proposed hiding place for the Queen, and opened up the company's lands.

A wharf was built for loading and unloading boats. The only document, all in the handwriting of Talon, is one concerning the wharf, by which he grants a right of "120 geometrical feet" to

Becedelièvre the merchant, mentioning also that certain other portions had already been assigned to Beaulieu and Marrisback and measured by Perrault; the remainder being reserved for use of the Company. He also explains the difference between French and English measurements. A wharf was a necessity for unloading the large flat Durham boats on which freight was poled up the river from Catawissa or Wilkes-Barré. A ferry was established to the Sullivan trail, about the only road on the opposite side of the river. A horse-power mill was constructed, as the nearest grist mill at Wilkes-Barré. The nearest post office was at Wilkes-Barré also; therefore the Asylum settlers established a weekly express to Philadelphia by a messenger traveling on horseback; this was maintained for several years.

From an article entitled "First Roads Connecting the West and North Branches," we quote:

"The refugees of the French Revolution sought and found an asylum on the North Branch, and wishing a more direct communication with the Muncy Valley, marked out and opened from the termination of the Wallis road, near the Forks of the Loyalsock, to their settlement, what was afterward known as the Frenchtown Pack-horse Road. It ran up Lick Creek for a few miles, then gradually climbing the ridge to the table-land through Forks and Albany township, and descending to the river about Skinner's Eddy. This completed the first through route for pedestrians or equestrians from the West to the North Branch, but was never opened for general travel."

Talon and de Noailles, finding themselves unable to provide funds, were released from their contract by Messrs. Morris and Nicholson; and by the new arrangements became partners with them. Talon was then made agent of the company at a given salary of $3,000, and the continued use of the house already occupied by him. This company being also unable to fulfill its engagements, Talon resigned as agent and sold out his share about 1797, having already revisited Europe in a vain attempt to recover his funds. Thus his residence at Asylum was less than four years. He never acquired the English language, and was imperious and hasty in dealing with workmen. It seems pitiful that one so ardent and interested, from ignorance of language, and want of practice in this kind of business, should have failed. Judge Stevens, writing to Charles Miner in 1824, said of Talon:

"He practically gave soul, life and energy to the settlement—with him it rose and continued, and when he withdrew it fell. That is, its decline began and has continued to the present time. He brought large sums of money into the U. S. and was benevolent and liberal in the extreme. Not exactly knowing the worth of labor he was frequently imposed upon and paid in many instances for jobs five times more than work was worth, but after all he benefitted many of the citizens very much. It is said besides the money expended at Asylum he lost in London $10,000, and in

Brussels, where he had made a deposit, 46,000 guineas. When he heard of this he called together all his dependants and creditors and settled with them and told his confidants he must abandon the settlement. When he withdrew, they withered like vegetation without nourishment."

This accords somewhat with a story told by Bartholemew Laporte to his grandchild, that the founders of the colony had left most of their funds in Europe, and that when they sent back for them, all had been confiscated, and so the settlement could not be carried on as first planned. It may be interesting to introduce here some brief extracts from journals of John Keating, never before published:

"I sailed from Cape Francis at the end of November 1792 on board a brig with M. de Blâcons. We got up to Philadelphia the eve of Christmas which was then kept very strictly. We were received at the widow Papley's* the day after Christmas. We soon met with Messrs Talon, Vcte. de Noailles and other emigrants. I landed with less than $300 and knew no one. A plan was soon set on foot for the formation of a settlement on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, a spot for a town was chosen and the name of Asylum given. Mr. Robert Morris was to give the land, his son to be paid for it in Europe. Notwithstanding the eagerness with which the plan was adopted and the considerable sums expended the settlement gradually decreased—the great majority of the settlers was not calculated for it. Minute details of it are to be seen in the Duke de Liancourt's travels."

(Translated from French.)

"A short time after my arrival in America I made the acquaintance of M. Talon, a former civil lieutenant in Paris, whom the Revolution had made seek an Asylum in the new world; forseeing that he might there occupy himself in an agreeable manner, and at the same time useful to his interests. He bought lands, or at least made arrangements to do so, he associated me in his plans without ever having known me, but only on that which he had heard said of me. Without entering into details on this subject, suffice it to say that soon after a company was formed called Asylum after the name that had been given to a locality situated on the east branch of the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania. (I accompanied Talon thither, there we spent much time together;) the business required meanwhile frequent trips to Philadelphia where I made several good acquaintances. The affairs of the Asylum Co. not promising great profits, and the funds of Talon disappearing fast, he resolved to go over to Europe to dispose of some lands of which the sale had been entrusted to him, and also to straighten out his affairs. Having succeeded in Holland in effecting a purchase of the lands, he came back in July, 1796, with power to conclude it, and terminated this affair at the close of the year, and returned again to Europe in the month of February following, i. e. Feb 1797."

Keating's journal and other papers explain these land transactions more fully; and as they are more or less connected with the Asylum venture, we consider them of sufficient interest for insertion here. Some time early in 1796 Talon and one Richard Gernon, a foreign banker in Philadelphia, representing a foreign syndi-

*The widow Papley's boarding house was long a popular resort for exiles. It was in 1793 at 179 S. Second St., and in 1800 at 58 South Fifth St., still a rendezvous for Keating and Asylum people.

cate at Amsterdam and Hamburg, purchased from William Bingham at one dollar per acre 300,000 acres in what was then Lycoming county, covering what are now known as Potter and McKean counties. A difference arose between them and the syndicate concerning their interest, and Talon, in whom the title was vested, decided in January, 1797, to go to Europe again and attempt a further sale, agreeing to send the funds at once to the banking house of Gernon—and very careful arrangements were made for whatever the outcome. Talon gave John Keating full power of attorney during his absence.

After considerable argument on the other side, all parties decided to leave the whole question to John Keating as arbitrator. Talon, evidently discouraged, never returned to America, but maintained his friendship with Keating. The latter was called to confer with the Amsterdam syndicate in 1801, and remained abroad one year considering the matter and rendering a satisfactory decision in May, 1802. Talon was then living in Paris where Keating visited him, and renewed old associations. These lands were developed by John Keating, a fuller account of which may be found in his biography. Talon remained in Europe, and soon became again interested in political intrigue. In 1804 he was banished for being implicated in a plot against Napoleon, and was actually imprisoned for three years. This proving too great a mental strain he became insane and died in 1811. (Further information in biographical notes.)

A picture of life at Asylum is well drawn by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, a French nobleman who lived some years in Philadelphia, traveled up the Susquehanna in 1795 en route to Niagara Falls and Canada and published a journal of his travels, which may be found in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and doubtless in some of our large public libraries, entitled: "Travels Through the United States of North America, the Country of the Iroquois and Upper Canada, in the Years 1795 and 1797." He thus describes the settlement:

"Asylum stands on the right bank of the Susquehanna, which must be crossed in order to reach this settlement. It has been only fifteen months established. Messrs. Talon and deNoailles, who arrived here from England, richer in hopes than in cash, fancied they should be able to purchase, cultivate and people 200,000 acres of land. They interested in their project some planters of St. Domingo, who escaped from the ruins of that colony, and who had prudence enough carefully to preserve the remains of their fortune. Messrs. Morris and Nicholson, who possess immense tracts of land in the United States, were willing and ready to meet their views. Lands were chosen on the northern banks of the Susquehanna; the price and installments were regulated, and the first trees felled (in December 1793) on the spot, which was

selected for the town. Mr. de Noailles took upon himself the management of the concerns of the company in Philadelphia. Mr. Talon caused the first log houses to be erected here, and the land to be prepared for the reception of the new inhabitants. But they soon discovered that they should be disappointed of all the money, which they had hoped to receive. Messrs. Morris and Nicholson readily released them from this first difficulty and the contract was rescinded. From exclusive proprietors of these lands, the above gentlemen became associates and partners in trade with Messrs. Morris and Nicholson, in all the profits arising from their sale, and the quantity was enlarged to a million of acres. Each of them kept about 6,000 acres as his private property, the price of which was somewhat raised; but more distant periods of payment were fixed. Mr. Talon was appointed agent for the company, with a salary of $3,000. The buildings, as well as all other expenses, were with the consent of Messrs. Morris and Nicholson, placed to the account of the company. The use of the most considerable house, built by Mr. Talon, was assigned to himself as agent. Ignorance of the language of the country, want of practice in business of this kind, avocations of a different nature and the embarrassments of the company have deprived Mr. Talon of the most exquisite happiness an emigrant Frenchman can enjoy, to open a peaceful and comfortable asylum for his unfortunate countrymen, to assist them in the first moments of their settlement, and thus to become the founder of a colony, which would have proved as honorable to the name of a Frenchman, as useful to the unfortunate sufferers whom it would have received. An enormous expense, partly incurred without a mature consideration of the plan, occasioned deficiencies The company was not able to fullfill its engagements. The exertions of Mr. Talon and his associates were not equal to the removal of these difficulties; and it becoming evident that the colony could not attain prosperity so quickly as Mr. Talon had expected, he resigned his situation as agent to Mr. Nicholson and sold him his share in the property of the company, who, having six months before bought that of Mr. de Noailles also, is now become sole proprietor of the land."

"This is a brief sketch of the history of Asylum. There cannot remain a doubt but that this establishment, the plan of which is certainly the work of much deliberation, would have proved more successful had it been formed by degrees and with a sufficient supply of ready money. For notwithstanding the errors committed in the execution of the plan and the adverse incidents it has met with, Asylum has already attained an uncommon degree of perfection, considering its infant state. Thirty houses built in this town are inhabited by families from St. Domingo and from France, by French artisans, and even by Americans. Some inns and two shops have been established, the business of which is considerable. Several town shares have been put into very good condition; and the fields and gardens begin to be productive. A considerable quantity of ground has been cleared on the creek Loyalsock, where the company has allotted 25,000 acres of land, in part of a hundred thousand acres, which the inhabitants of Asylum have purchased by subscription. Similar agricultural operations, which take place in almost every town share, are intended to enliven at once all the different parts of this large tract of land. The town shares consist each of 400 acres from 10 to 20 of which are cleared. The owner can therefore either settle there himself at the end of the year, or entrust it to a farmer. The clearing of the town shares is, at present, effected by subscription on this principle: that for every acre that belongs to a subscriber who has cleared 10 acres, five of which only are enclosed with fences, $9 are paid. M. de Montullé, one of the inhabitants of Asylum, directs this clearing of the ground; the plan of which he conceived for the welfare of the colony. The sentiments of the colonists are good. Every one follows his business, the cultivator as well as the inn-keeper and tradesman, with as much zeal and exertion as if he had been brought up to it. The soil is tolerably good, the climate healthful. Almost all the ingredients of a thriving colony concur in Asylum, and afford room to hope that these great natural advantages will in time be improved for

the benefit and prosperity of the colonists. A new trading company has superceded the former; at least, the firm and management of the company's concerns have been altered. Mr. Robert Morris has entirely left it, and Mr. Nicholson being now the only proprietor, has formed a bank of his million of acres, divided into 5,000 shares containing each 200 acres, the price of which at $2.50 per acre is $500. They bear six per cent interest, which increases in proportion to the state of the land; and at the expiration of 15 years, the period of which the company is to be dissolved, all the benefits and advantages accruing to the bank, are to be divided among the holders of the shares. An office has been established by the latter, for the direction and management of the concerns of the bank.

This new company, taught by the errors of the former, will, no doubt, make it their principle business to promote the prosperity of Asylum, which alone, can, in any considerable manner, increase the value of the land. Yet some sacrifices will also be required for that purpose. It will be necessary to construct new roads and repair old ones Encouragement must also be given to the families, which already inhabit Asylum; and advantageous offers must be held out to such as may be disposed to settle here. If these things be done, Asylum will soon be peopled. Motives arising from French manners and opinions have hitherto prevented even French families from settling here. These are now in great measure removed, and if the company shall proceed with judgment and prudence, as it is to be hoped they will, there can hardly remain a doubt but that Asylum will speedily become a place of importance. Its situation on the Susquehanna, 200 miles from its source, fits it in a peculiar manner for an emporium of the inland trade. French activity, supported with money, will certainly accelerate its growth; and this will doubtless in time convince the world that the enterprise and assiduity of Frenchmen are equally conspicuous in prosperity and adverse circumstances.

The following families have either already settled, or intend to settle as Asylum, viz: 1. M. de Blâcons, deputy for Dauphiné, in the constitu ent assembly. Since his quitting France, he has married Mademoiselle de Maulde, late canoness to the chapter of Bonbourg. They keep a haberdasher's shop. Their partner is M. Colin, formerly Abbé de Sevigné, archduke of Tours, and conseiller au grand conseil. 2. M. de Montullé, late captain of a troop of horse, married to a lady of St. Domingo, who resides at present at Pottsgrove. 3. Madame de Sybert, cousin to M. de Montullé and relict of a rich planter of St. Dominga. 4. M. Bec-de-Lièvre, formerly a canon, now a shop-keeper; his partners are the two Messrs. de la Roue, one of whom was formerly a petit gens-d'armes and the other a captain of infantry. The latter has married a sister of Madame Sybert. 5. Mademoiselle de Bercy, who intends to establish an inn on the road from Asylum to Loyalsock, eight miles from the former place, whither she is on the point of removing with her husband. 6. M. Beaulieu, formerly a captain of infantry in the French service, who served in America during the late war in the legion of Potosky. He has remained ever since in this country, has married an English lady and now keeps an inn. 7. M. Buzard, a planter of St. Domingo and physician in that colony, who has settled in Asylum with his wife, daughter and son, and some negroes, the remains of his fortune. 8. M. de Noailles, a planter of St. Domingo. 9. M. Dandelot of Franchecomte, late an officer of infantry, who left France on account of the Revolution and arrived here destitute of property, but was kindly received by Mr. Talon, and is now engaged in agricultural pursuits with spirit and success. 10. M. du Petit Thouar, an officer of the navy, who, encouraged by the constituent assembly and assisted by a subscription, embarked in an expedition in quest of M. de la Perouse. He was detained on the coast of Brazil by the governor of the colony, Fernando de Noriguez, and sent with his crew to Portugal, where he was very ill-treated by the Portuguest government, stripped of all his property, and only escaped farther persecution by fleeing to America, where he lives free and happy, without property, yet without want. He is employed in clearing about

200 or 300 acres of land, which have been presented to him. His sociable mild, yet truly original temper and character, are set off by a noble simplicity of manner. 11. M. Nores, a young gentleman, who embarked with M. Du Petit Thouar, and escaped with him to this country. He formerly wore the petit collet (the petit collet or little band was formerly a distinguishing mark of the secular clergy in France), was a pupil of M. de la Chapelle, possessor of a small priory and now earns his subsistence by cultivating the ground. 12. John Keating, an Irishman, and late captain of the regiment of Welsh. At the beginning of the Revolution he was in St. Domingo, where he possessed the confidence of all the parties, but refused the most tempting offers of the commissioners of the assembly, though his sentiments were truly Democratic. It was his choice and determination to retire to America without a shilling in his pocket, rather than to acquire power and opulence in St. Domingo by violating his first oath. He is a man of uncommon merit, distinguished abilities, extraordinary virtue and invincible disinterestedness. His deportment is grave, yet affable. His advice and prudence have proved extremely serviceable to M. Talon in every department of his business. It was he who negotiated the arrangements between Messrs. Morris and Nicholson; and it may be justly said that the confidence, which his uncommon abilities and virtue inspire, enables him to adjust matters of dispute with much greater facility than most other persons. 13. M. Rénaud and family. He is a rich merchant of St. Domingo, who has just arrived with very considerable property, preserved from the wreck of an immense fortune. 14. M. Carles, a priest and canon of Guernsey, who retired to America with a small fortune and who has now settled at Asylum; he is an industrious and much respected farmer. 15. M. Brevost, a citizen of Paris, celebrated for his benevolence; he was a member of all benevolent societies, treasurer of the philanthropic society, and retired to America with some property, a considerable part of which he expended on a settlement, which he attempted to establish on the banks of the Chenango, but which did not eventually succeed. He now cultivates his lot of ground on the Loyalsock, as if his whole life had been devoted to the same pursuit; and the cheerful serenity of a gentle, candid, philosophical mind still attends him in his laborious retreat. His wife and sister-in-law, who have also settled here, share in his tranquility and his happiness. 16. Madame d'Autremont, with her three children. She is the widow of a steward (?) of Paris. Two of her sons are grown up; one was a notary and the other a watchmaker; but they have now become hewers of wood and tillers of the ground, and secure by their zeal, spirit, politeness and unblemished character the sympathy and respect of every feeling mind.*

Some families of artisans are also established at Asylum; and such as conduct themselves properly can earn great wages. This cannot be said of the greatest part of them. They are, in general, very indifferent workmen and much addicted to drunkenness. In time, they will be superceded by more valuable men; and American families of a better description will settle here; for those who reside at present at Asylum are scarcely worth keeping.

One of the greatest impediments to the prosperity of this settlement will probably arise from the prejudices of some Frenchmen against the Americans, unless self-interest and reason should prove the means of removing them. These are frequently manifested with that inconsiderate levity, with which Frenchmen in general decide on things and persons of the greatest moment; some of them vauntingly declare that they will never learn the language of the country, or enter into conversation with an American. Whether particular facts and occurrences can justify this prejudice in regard to individuals, I will not affirm; but certain it is, that they can never justify it in the latitude of a general opinion. A conduct founded on such prejudices would prove extremely hurtful to the interests of the colony; the progress of which has been already re-

*Until quite recently it was supposed this was the only list of names, but it is now known that there still exist many records, and accurate lists of names, many more than are here given.

tarded by so many unavoidable obstacles, that there certainly is no occasion to create new ones by purposely exciting the animosity of a people, among whom the colony has been formed, and who, in the judgment of every impartial man, must be considered as in a state of less degeneracy than many European nations.

The real farmers who reside at Asylum live, upon the whole, on very good terms with each other; being duly sensible that harmony is requisite, to render their situation comfortable and happy. They possess no considerable property, and their way of life is simple. M. Talon lives in a manner somewhat more splendid, as he is obliged to maintain a number of persons to whom his assistance is indispensable.

It is to be wished and hoped that the whole settlement may prove ultimately successful. A more convenient spot might, doubtless, have been chosen. But not to mention that, all ex-post facto judgments are unfair, the present situation of the colony appearing so advantageous as to warrant the most sanguine hopes of success. Industrious families, however, without whom no settlement can prosper, must be invited to it; for it must be considered that, however polished its present inhabitants may be, the gentlemen cannot so easily dispense with the assistance of the artisan and the husbandman, as these can with that of the gentleman.

A speedy adjustment of the present differences between Connecticut and Pennsylvania, with respect to the estates contiguous to the lands of Asylum, would also prove a desirable and fortunate circumstance for this colony. None but persons of indifferent character are willing to settle on ground, the title to which remains a matter of dispute. Even the small number of colonists we found between Wilkes-Barre and Tioga are by no means praiseworthy in their morals; and they are poor, lazy, drunken, quarrelsome, and extremely negligent in the culture of their lands. The valuable emigrants from New England on the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, who should be encouraged to settle here, will certainly not make their appearance, till they can be sure of cultivating their lands without opposition, and of retaining the undisturbed possession of their estates. It is therefore of the greatest importance to the company of Asylum, that this weighty business should be speedily and finally adjusted. When that is accomplished, the company will doubtless embrace the earliest opportunity of advertising the whole million acres; they will endeavor to combine separate estates with each other, by purchasing the intervening lands, they will make public their right of property, pursue a well concerted general plan, execute it with the requisite care and dispatch, and make the necessary sacrifices. They will perceive how advantageous and important it is to place Asylum, as it were, in full activity by constructing the roads already projected and commenced, by establishing a school, by inviting industrious settlers and by endeavoring to meliorate the breeds of horses and cattle; in short, by encouraging useful establishments of every kind. A few hundreds of dollars laid out here properly would produce the most considerable and lasting improvements. In such cases, however, it is requisite to calculate well, that we may expend judiciously. By prudent and liberal measures, the prosperity of this French colony, and consequently of the company, would be essentially insured and promoted. And when this settlement shall have once ripened into a flourishing state, it will serve to connect the country, which is already cultivated along the banks of the river, above and below Asylum, and thus prove a source of animation to this interesting part of Pennsylvania. But, unless active and judicious measures be pursued, Asylum will inevitably suffer from the partial inconveniences which attend its situation, and from the errors committed in the first formation of this colony; and instead of attaining to the wished for prosperity, it must, on the contrary, find its decline, if not downfall, in the very nature of its establishment.

Everything in this settlement, at present, appears in a precarious condition. The price of provision depends on a variety of fluctuating circumstances. By the activity and prudence of certain individuals, the town is abundantly supplied with grain and meat, and this honest econ-

omy keeps provisions at a moderate price. But men of a less liberal way of thinking have it also in their power to occasion scarcity of the first necessaries of life, and raise their price to a rate beyond all proportion to that of other commoditics. The information, which I have been able to collect relative to the state of agriculture, however accurate at the present moment, can hardly be thought sufficient for the direction of a planter, who should incline to settle here; I shall, however, lay it before my readers such as it is.

The land behind the town is tolerably good; but that on the banks of the river consists of excellent meadows, laid out by families who settled here before the present colonists, producing very good hay, pretty considerable in quantity, and they are capable of still farther improvements. The soil of Loyalsock is, in general, excellent. Many trees grow there, which evinces its goodness, such as the white Virginia walnut tree, white oak, plane tree, sugar maple and hemlock fir. It is a circumstance worthy of notice, that half way between Loyalsock and Asylum, common oak, which in the fields about the latter place is found in abundance, becomes at once so scarce that not 200 oak trees grow in the whole district of Loyalsock, which contains 2,500 acres The price of the company's land is at present $2.50 per acre; very little, however, is sold. That of the town of Asylum fetches little more; although there is little doubt that the price will raise gradually to $10. The land contiguous to Asylum, which does not belong to the company, being at present in an unsettled state with respect to right of property, this circumstance renders it a very undesirable possession for such settlers as lo not wish to expose themselves to the danger of subsequent litigations, and consequently to being dispossessed of their purchases. Hitherto the grain appears to have suffered but little from the Hessian fly and from blights. The winter lasts here from four and a half to five months. Agriculture, however, has hitherto advanced so slowly that the cattle suffer much during that season for want of fodder. They are for the most part fed with turnips, gourds and straw of Indian corn. Both oxen and cows are of a very indifferent sort, as little attention has been paid to the breed of cattle brought hither by the settlers. Both seed time and harvest take place here about a fortnight later than in the vicinity of Philadelphia. The land yields about 15 or 20 bushels of wheat, 60 bushels of Indian corn and three tons of hay per acre. The soil seems naturally better adapted for meadows than for corn land; but from the little trouble attending the driving of the cattle into the forest, the produce in corn is rather apparently great than so in fact. In ploughing they generally employ oxen, which, it should be observed, are not subject to any particular disease. They are at times driven to Philadelphia; and the country people frequently act here with so little judgment, as even to send them 200 miles off, when they might obtain much better prices, and even ready money, in the neighborhood. The bullocks, which are consumed in Asylum, are generally brought from the back settlements, but it is frequently found necessary to send thither for them. They are generally plentiful; the uncommon duration of the last winter, however, proved so destructive to the cattle that few are now to be seen, and a great scarcity of beef prevails at Asylum as well as in various other parts of America.

The grain, which is not consumed in Asylum, finds a market in Wilkes-Barré and is transported thither on the river. In the same manner all kinds of merchandise are conveyed from Philadelphia to Asylum. They are carried in wagons as far as Harrisburg, and thence sent in barges up the river. The freight amounts, in the whole, to $2 per cwt. The salt comes from the salt houses at Genesee, on the lake of Ontario. Flax is produced in the country about Asylum; and the soil is very fit for producing crops of that commodity. Maple sugar is made here in great abundance. Each tree is computed to yield upon an average from two pounds and a half to three a year. Molasses and vinegar are also prepared here. I have seen Messrs. De Vilaine and Dandelot make sugar in this place, which much surpasses any of the same kind that has hitherto come under my observation. A considerable quantity of tar is also made, and sold for $4 per barrel containing 32 gallons. Day laborers are paid

at the rate of five shillings a day. M. de Montullé employs workmen from the eastern branch of the river to clear his land; to these he pays half a dollar a day, besides allowing them their victuals; the overseer receives a dollar and a third per day; these people turn out to be very good workmen. They are easily procured, when employment is ensured to them for any length of time; but otherwise it is very difficult to obtain them. The manufacture of potashes has also been commenced at Asylum, and it is in contemplation to attempt the brewing of malt liquor*. A corn mill and a saw mill are building on the Loyalsock.**

The foregoing is a brief sketch of the present state of this interesting settlement, which even a twelve months hence will no longer retain its present features. To judge from the actual condition of the probable progress and duration of this infant colony, it must either rise or fall rapidly. It is to be hoped that the want of familiarity to the original in my description, which may be observable next year in the colony, will arise from its rapid progress toward maturity, and this hope is grounded on probable appearances.

Tuesday, the 2d of June. On our arrival at Asylum, it was not our intention to have stopped more than four days in that place. But the pleasure of meeting with M. and Madame de Blâcons,*** a desire to obtain a thorough knowledge of the present state of the colony, as well as of its prospects of future improvement; and the cordial reception we experienced from all its inhabitants induced us to add four days to our stay, and in the whole we stopped twelve days. On Tuesday, the 2d of June, we at length took our departure. Messrs. de Blâcons and DuPetit Thouar joined our caravan; the latter, who travelled on foot, had set out the preceding evening.

There has been discovered in recent years by a young antiquarian, descendant of an Asylum emigré, a very interesting autograph letter, written by Rochefoucauld at the end of his trip through Pennsylvania. While curiously enough it is not dated, the contents show the time of writing. The letter is addressed to "Mr. Wauberket—Ministre d'Holland, Philadelphia." The letter is written at Asylum or as it is written "Asylum Lery," interpreted by a scholar to be intended for Asylum-le roi, in confirmation of the conjectured plan of a royal refuge. The incentive of the letter were the notes of introduction given the traveler by the Dutch minister to various people in large towns of Pennsylvania. He expressed great pleasure in his journey through Pennsylvania which he declared had great sources of prosperity, great activity, great efforts to attain prosperity.

"All goes forward with a prodigious rapidity, and, without doubt in a very short time the state of Pennsylvania will show at all points a domain comparable with those of Europe, and resources in every respect in advance of what had been supposed. I am much more satisfied with the establishment of Azylum than I had expected. With further efforts of

*Colin had a distillery in 1801.

**There is in existence an old map made by Coxe Ellis. Deputy Surveyor for thirty years, (obtained from his grandson William Ellis at Muncy by Ulysses Bird) of about this date, on which are plotted seventy-four warrants labelled "The New French Settlements." These were north of Cherry Mills and Dushore. On one side of the map is mention of the mills noted by Liancourt, also that "on No. 30 a village is laid out and a wagon road completed to Standing Stone or Asylum." Talon's Road!

***Lucretius de Blacons was of the nobility, having the title of Marquis. As a member of the Constituent Assembly and adviser of the King, he had incurred the displeasure of Robespierre and was obliged to flee in haste.

the Company more concerted, and made with intelligence, this establishment will be in a great wave of prosperity and business will become excellent. We leave to-morrow for Tyoga, and from there pursue our journey.

I have the honor to be, Monsieur, your very respectful servant,

Liancourt.

I will dare to beg of you to present my respects to Mr. Bingham, Asylum Lery."

The Duke says the little shops flourished "rather to the detriment of those at the nearest settlement, Tioga Point." Religious services were conducted in the log chapel by M. Fromentin and M. Carles. Some marriages occurred there. Some one of the emigrés brought with them a beautiful illuminated missal which was doubtless used in the services. This missal was given to Laporte; his son Judge Laporte gave it to Father Toner, a priest ministering in Towanda sixty or more years ago. Recently when inquiry was made, it was learned that Father Toner carried it to Rome and presented it to the Vatican museum. The chapel and services therein have had much written about them. As this statement was made without verification, since previous publication diligent inquiry has been made by the author, assisted by the late Martin I. Griffin of the American Catholic Historical Society. Mr. Griffin knowing the proper sources of information, sought in vain for record of application to a bishop for power to administer the Sacraments. All previous statements by Catholic writers were to the effect that there were no services and no chapel. In 1855 Henry de Courcy, a French journalist, visited America and wrote for some French periodicals an account of the Catholic Church in this country. He corresponded with John Keating, then ninety-five years old, concerning this matter and his letters are still in existence. We have pursued in vain every possible clew hoping to find Keating's answers. De Courcy wrote Sept. 5, 1855:

"I am anxious to know if the four clergymen took wifes in Pennsylvania and what became of them. I suppose that the several clergymen, (Bec-de-lievre, Fromentin, &c) who were among you did not act as clergymen at Asylum. Did you build a chapel there and was some one of those priests acting as pastor? Archbishop Kenrick writes me that in the archives of Baltimore he finds no trace that any of those clergymen made application to Bishop Carroll for power to administer the sacrements. It is important to me to ascertain if there was any Catholic Cult celebrated at Asylum."

Several letters passed between them, mostly personal, but Oct. 1 De Courcy wrote again, saying:

"I have read with an extreme pleasure your valuable information and they answer positively my purpose. M. de Bec-de-Lievré is noted as a priest and even a canon by Rochefoucauld. I know the family of that name in Brittany, and I have written to Nantes to know if the settler at Asylum returned there, and what became of him. Permit me to ask if I read well the name of the priest who went to Louisiana; is it Fro-

mentin? Did he emigrate also in 1793, or is he from Brittany? Fromentin is a Breton name. Is M. Laporte of Asylum still a Catholic?"

In the light of recent discoveries it seems strange that Keating so replied that De Courcy published the statement, translated by Shea in 1856 as follows:

"In 1794 thirty families of French officers and nobility founded the Colony of Asylum near Towanda in Bradford County, Pennsylvania. They were attended by several priests—the Abbé de Bec de Liévre, a canon of Brittany; the Abbé Carles, canon of Quercy; the Abbé Fromentin of Étampes; the Abbé de Sevigny, Archdeacon of Tours; M. Nores, a graduate of Holy Chapel and possessor of a small priory, although not in orders, was another of the party. But these ecclesiastics were not of the order of the virtuous Sulpitians, who at the same time offered their services to Bishop Carroll, and hastened to preach the Gospel wherever that prelate sent them. The Abbés of Asylum never asked Bishop Carroll for faculties to exercise the ministry in America, and thinking only of the goods of this world, became grocers or farmers. In a spot which contained four priests, mass was never offered. They never thought of arranging a place for a chapel, where the settlers might meet morning and evening to raise up their hearts to God. No worship was practiced among these brilliant officers, their companions and children; and this shows how far the philosophy of Voltaire had spread its ravages in the hearts of families, and even in the sanctuary. As soon as the nobles and clergy could return to France, the more influential of the colonists hastened to leave America. There remained only the farmers and mechanics; and among the descendants of them to-day, there is not a single Catholic."—From "The Catholic Church in America," Shea, pp. 292-3.

Whatever Keating may have written, we have sufficient evidence to believe the Courcy-Shea statement an error. First, from the records, the statement that on "June 5, 1795, a suitable town lot, twenty acres in the flats, and two thousand acres elsewhere, were appropriated by the Managers for the support of a school and chapel at the town of Asylum." Second, various accounts, using the title "Abbé," a bill for "one table for the priest;" third, the missal; fourth, *and this has never before been published*: the very recent discovery among papers at Harrisburg of an account of Abbé Colin with the Company. One of the items thus reads (translated) "to the grand vicar of the Bishop of Baltimore for two altar stones £2.15s.0." The reader must draw his own conclusions. The late Rev. David Craft acknowledged that he had no real evidence of the existence of a chapel. Martin Griffin thought faculties might have been obtained in Philadelphia, but the suggestion of a Catholic priest, that they might have been obtained at Baltimore *and not recorded*, seems a plausible theory. Judge Stevens of Standing Stone writing in 1824 speaks of "Ezra Fromentin, a Priest at Asylum" and again, "Colin Ex-Bishop, John V. Becedelièvre, a priest of high order, Ezra Fromentin, acting Priest in Asylum, since and perhaps now Judge in one of the Floridas." "Griffin followed the after history of the Asylum

priests and has recorded it. He also states that in 1806 Father Dilhet of Baltimore visited the few settlers remaining at Asylum. In 1834 Bishop Kenrick writing of the colony says:

"Being left for some years without any religious services I am told that scarcely any trace of the Catholic faith is to be found among them. Nearly all the original settlers are dead and their children having no one to instruct them in the faith of their fathers, have joined the sects in whose midst they have been brought up."

Were it not for those altar stones we would favor Griffin's suggestion that application was made to Rev. Francis A. Fleming, resident at Philadelphia prior to his death by yellow fever in October, 1793.

A grist mill run by horse power was built (the first in Bradford County). It is said that one of the ladies gave her silk dress for bolting cloth.

In 1794 Louis Lefevre was licensed to keep an inn in Asylum; in 1795 Héraud, the partner of Laporte, obtained a similar license and in 1797 Reginer and Becdelièvre. The latter kept a store near where Miller's house now is until 1802; and among the earliest recollections of Abraham Vanderpool (born in 1796) was Mr. B's kindness to him in giving him raisins and candy. He says "I thought he was a very fine old man." At a later period John B. Rosett and Jos. Doyle were engaged in mercantile business, removing to Wilkes-Barré in 1804; Rosett originally was a baker.

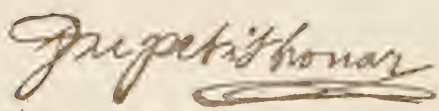
Either Antoine or Louis Lefevre's inn seems to have been on east side of river opposite Frenchtown. Aubrey was a blacksmith, probably a Frenchman. His shop was on the present site of Hagerman's large barn which also was the Schufeldt location. There are no records by which one can determine just how many French people lived at Asylum at its height, and there is no list of names of all settlers. There were a few births of which the writer has no record except of John Laporte; there were also a few deaths and one suicide, as related by Yankee settlers. Mr. Craft says that the cemetery of the French was on the broad street now the northeast corner of the Gordon farm, and that there were perhaps twenty marked graves, but all trace is now obliterated. There are now many cemeteries, and the resting places of the families who remained are all known and marked.

It is not known that there are in existence any letters or papers bearing on Asylum, except those recorded in this volume, at the best all too meagre. Those who returned to France, or some of them, gave accounts of the Susquehanna Valley which later at-

tracted thither various French families whose descendants still live in Bradford County; notably Piollet and Delpeuch.

One of the most charming characters at the time of the Duke's visit, was Aristide Aubert dupetit Thouar, familiarly called "the

[This authentic portrait was obtained from the Bibliothéque Natioale, Paris, at the suggestion of M. Jusserand.]



Admiral," and by the Yankees "Captain Petitoix." He was the most unusual and picturesque character attached to the colony, a typical French patriot, a worthy model for American youth, even though adventurous. He was born August, 1760, in the Chateau of Bonnnú, on

ancestral home near Saumer, that was still standing in 1905. One of his biographers says "Having dreamed for himself the history of Robinson Crusoe even to the point of escaping from the College of La Fleche, he entered a military school in Paris." The same month that France recognized the independence of our American colonies, he sought admission to the navy, was made midshipman and embarked at Brest, following the example of Lafayette in making common cause with America. "He was in various campaigns which took place in the American seas," thus even dearer to American hearts. His whole recorded life was one of quick sympathy, unselfishness, Spartan endurance, extreme loyalty and astounding adventure.

In mature years as in youth, an ardent admirer of Robinson Crusoe; after distinguishing himself in every country with which France was at war and losing one arm; in 1792 he ventured all his patrimony on an expedition in search of the lost navigator La Perouse, to which, after a personal interview with Dupetithouar, the King himself subscribed. Disaster followed the expidition both by land and sea, and his vessel was finally seized by the Portuguese on the coast of Brazil and he imprisoned for some months. Having finally persuaded the authorities that he was *not* a revolutionist, although his rank had been taken from him in France, he was liberated in August, 1793 and came to Philadelphia where he arrived worn out and penniless, already well known to Naoilles with whom he had fought. He soon attracted the attention of Talon, who invited him to go to Asylum as his guest, and contrived to aid him by at once offering him employment. Being well versed in English, he was given charge of the workmen in the construction of buildings, as many accounts written or signed by him show. However his natural pride made him anxious to do something on his own behalf, and he was allotted, as all purchasers were, a back woods lot to be cleared. His was on the Loyalsock. While generations of Yankees have worn his name into "Dushore," there are still a few who tell you proudly of the one-armed stranger who felled the first tree on the site of the town. They are proud of the story of the little Frenchman who fought here single handed with the wilderness when the nearest settlement was twenty-two miles away, choosing rather solitude and hardships than the gaiety and idleness of the colonists and the comforts of the "great house" which were ever ready for him. So it is written: "The Admiral used to depart on Monday for his hermit home, shouldering his axe and a week's store of provisions and returning Saturday. He

scorned a bed but wrapped himself in a blanket and lay on the floor, for he never forgot that he was a soldier, and simplicity was a cardinal virtue with him."

When the Duke left Asylum en route for Niagara, he invited dupetit Thouar to accompany him; he accepted, but, too poor to own a horse and too proud to borrow one, he walked the whole distance, claiming he preferred walking to riding.

His story was first told by C. F. Welles in 1836 to John Persun, but fully 75 years had passed when these lands were purchased by John Mosier, known as the first settler. But was he? One day he was visited by Charles F. Welles of Wyalusing, who, walking over the farm with the owner observed on the brow of the hill (within what is now the west part of borough limits) a change in the appearance of the greensward, and asked how it was that it appeared so different. Mosier replied, "Oh, there was an old clearing here made by a Frenchman a great many years ago." He then led to what was traditionally called "the Frenchman's spring" and told that when he came he found a large hemlock tree which had been felled near the spring and upon it had been placed some limbs of the tree with a covering of bark, making a rude shelter for the hardy pioneer. C. F. Welles, knowing the sturdy independance of the one armed Admiral, and that he was reputed to have plunged into the wilderness, considered it safe to assume that the chopping on the hill and the rude hut at the foot were the work of Dupetithouar, and suggested to Samuel Jackson, keeper of the only store and public house in the hollow, (Mosier's log house being the only dwelling) that he should place the name of Dupetithouar on his sign. Later when the Mosier land was plotted, the surveyor wrote Dushore on the plot, and subsequently the name of the post office was changed from Cherry Four Corners to Dushore. On the organization of the borough the people rejected the name of Jackson Hollow and Mosierville for the historical and distinctive name of Dushore—and there comes a voice from the past—"Readers will please to accent the last syllable, and not write it Dewshore or Dueshore." The story of his generosity in parting with his linen is not "pure fiction" but is well vouched for.

Many delightful anecdotes of "the Admiral" have been handed down by word of mouth to the present generation. Perhaps there is none more amusing or more characteristic of the man than the following: Coming through the woods one day from his clearing, he met a man nearly naked, who told him he had just escaped from captivity among the Indians. The generous young Frenchman at

once doffed his only shirt and insisted on its acceptance by his poorer neighbor; and buttoning up his coat to conceal his own destitution, proceeded to the mansion at Asylum. That night at dinner, someone of his friends rallied him upon his punctiliousness in keeping himself buttoned so closely, in spite of the summer heat. The Captain parried the thrust by quick repartee, and it was not until the accidental arrival of the beneficiary of his bounty (said to have been a Canadian refugee), that the truth of the matter was discovered and he was supplied with the needed article. So much was his pride respected, that whenever his wardrobe needed replenishing his friends replaced the worn article secretly to spare his mortification.

This noble man returned to France under the decree of Napoleon and applied once more for a place in the navy. "You have but one hand," said the minister, "you ought to go on the retired list and not on the active." Dupetit Thouar replied, "True, sir, I have given one hand to France, but here is another for her service." In Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, he was placed in command of "La Tonnant," an old vessel.

When the enemy was met, he declared the situation unfavorable, but said that he should nail his colors to the mast. He fought with heroic courage and it is related that when his only arm and one leg were shot away by cannon balls, he asked to be thrown overboard, since he could no longer serve his country and did not wish to remain on deck an encumbrance to discourage the crew. Denied this, he calmly awaited death, going down with his ship; and his name is enrolled with that of Casa-Bianca so dear to every school boy of the past generation. In Paris and Calais there are streets named for him, and even in far Korea a French café bears his name. The few children at Asylum remembered him as a brave, good man who was fond of them.*

Brave Dupetithouar, the lovely valley of the Susquehanna is blessed by the memory of such a hero! A true hero; for it is recorded that in 1784 he wrote to a relative: "I do not desire war;

*In 1821 Mlle. Felicie Dupetithouar announced the publication of the writings of her brother, in three volumes, under the title, "Life, Letters, Memoirs, Voyages and Pamphlets of Aristide Dupetithouar," accompanied with fac simile drawings, plans and biographical notes. "Such of the letters" (says a French writer of a later day) "of her brother as Mlle. Dupetithouar mentioned in her notice, had a character of originality and of interest which leads one to regret that the publication did not take place." For many years the author has endeavored to learn if these papers were still in existence, even having search made in Paris by a noted historian, but all in vain. The biographer Levot says: "Caring little to return to France he went to the United States where during three years, in turn colonist, traveler, close observer of nature and of man, he did not for one moment allow the activity of his spirit to rest." A glowing account of the battle of Aboukir is given by Levot. It was fought at great odds, as several ships directed their fire on the old vessel, and Dupetithouar was covered with wounds before he lost the arm and leg.

it is a plague to mankind, a sin which makes its voice heard in those hearts which are not hardened by ambition or self interest."

Asylum knew several distinguished visitors to whom we will devote a later chapter.

Bright spots their visits in the dull routine of life at Asylum, links with a happy past; the volatile nature of the French asserted itself, and the hours were spent in feasting, rejoicing and hunting; or, were the weather pleasant, all repaired to the dancing pavilion on Prospect Rock, where were held out of door fêtes, souvenirs of Trianon, doubtless the first picnics in America.

There were fine ladies as well as noble men among the exiles, and it was soon evident that the terrors of Paris had not sobered them, nor the doctrine of the new philosophy taken deep hold within. Even in this rude wilderness they attempted to live the life of leisure and frivolity to which they were accustomed. The women dressed, danced and played as at Trianon, demanded their rustic arbors and even a theatre. But though they hunted and feasted and danced, life was difficult to the gay Parisians, when every necessity had to be ordered from Wilkes-Barré or Philadelphia, orders for the same being sent by the hand of any passing traveler, since mails were few and irregular. Perhaps the expressed sentiment of a modern French historian was nearer right however than that of the Yankee settlers. On learning that Madame d'Autremont, even in a log house, changed her dress several times a day and donned "full dress or nearly so in the evening," he thus apostrophizes:

From Trianon*

"Besides representing marvellously the type of the worldly woman under the reign of Louis XVI, she showed what energy and courage these French women had, although accustomed to luxury, to all the pursuits and refinements of elegant life, women, who aside from their 'vapours,' seldom had any occupation but to dress, undress and dress again for the chatter of their 'salons.' Here, under an imperious necessity, these

*It was at Petit Trianon that the Queen and her attendants played at dairy work, one of the things that antagonized the common people. Every appurtenance was of the finest porcelain though in imitation of ruder forms. By the courtesy of the Misses Maurice, we reproduce a churn that was in actual use at Trianon when Marie Antoinette was chief dairy maid. Over fifty years ago it was presented to the mother of Mrs. Maurice by a French family living near New York City.

beautiful heedless ones knew how to make themselves into farmers, to live in the depths of the woods, to occupy themselves with their cows and all the cares of agricultural experiments of the home and the cuisine; to wash and mend their own linen. All this habitually, and without losing any of their qualities of 'femmes de salon,' they lived just as great ladies in the midst of their cows and their chickens as did their grandmothers of the middle ages who wore to their carousals the escutcheons of their house, embroidered in silk on their gowns of silver and gold."

Nor was Madame d'Autremont alone in these habits for, while there is no similar personal record, the various accounts indicate that the women were of one mind; Mesdames Gui de Noailles, Blâcons, Laroue, Buzard and daughter, Brevost, Cottineau, de Sibert and several young women, who had accompanied their married sisters.

While we do not know that they were residents of Asylum, dividends were paid to Félicité Finot Fage and her sister Brigitte. For some reason we fancy that one of these was Pontgibaud's milliner who invested her all in Asylum stock.

Though discontented with their surroundings, and disappointed in the death of the Queen (the news of which was more than tardy in reaching the settlement), yet they amused themselves as best they could, to the disgust of the Americans around them.

One of the oldest inhabitants of Asylum told in 1895 that when his father felled a tree, they would ask him to put it across a stump that they might while away the hours "teeter tautering," paying an equivalent of 10 shillings for every teeter. He also says they would send his father miles out of the way to cut down trees so they could get a good view of the valley.

Judge Stevens, whose family intermarried with the Homets, wrote in 1824 of the exiles quite at length for a newspaper of the period. He said:

"Their amusements consisted in riding, walking, swinging, musick (& perhaps dancing) and sometimes they passed their time with cards, chess or the Back Gammon Board. In their manners they were courteous, Polite & affable. in their living they followed the French customs. Breakfasted late on Coffee, Fresh Meat, Bread & Butter—Dined at 4 o-clock, Drank best wine or Brandy, after dinner. Ladies and gentlemen who chose drank Tea at evening. I speak of the wealthy, they were able to command the best of everything.

"To conclude, the French who constituted the settlement at Asylum consisted of 4 different classes of people; some of the Nobility, and Gentlemen of the Court of Louis 16—several of the Clergy, a few Mechanics and a number of the Labouring class, all of whom were entirely ignorant of the customs of the country, of the method of clearing and cultivating the soil, of keeping or working cattle, of Building houses, of making roads, and in fact of everything relating to the settlement of a new country. Also ignorant of our language which prevented them from obtaining information, and many labouring people of the country took advantage of ignorance and want of experience, and charged twice and in some instances 4 times the value of the labour."

None of the colonists were fitted to be settlers in a forest. Mr. Craft says: "In chopping a tree they cut on all sides while one watched to see where it would fall, that they might escape being struck." Nevertheless they began numerous clearings or "choppings" as they were called by the later settlers. There were ten quite well defined in Albany and Terry townships. Mr. Craft once made an accurate list of these "French Choppings." At Laddsburg he mentions "A saw mill about 100 feet above the grist mill of Eilenberger. There was also a large log house about 200 feet below the mill on the right bank, and several acres cleared."

The accompanying letter will give a good idea of the colony and the difficulties met in clearing, etc. The writer was young and not well versed in English.

(Letter from Alexander d'Autremont to Chas. Boulogne.)

Asylum July 20th 1795.

Mr. Boulogne

Sir

we have received the news of your arrival here with all the joy which you may easily presume it could give us, but our joy would have been more felt if the circumstances in which we find ourselves would not force us to quit a place where we have been so cruelly deceived & so unhappy & that in the very moment we hear you have fixed your residence at Asylum.

from the very beginning of this letter you'll say it is the crying bird who writes to me. but could it be possible to look on our situation with indifference Indebted as we are to you without forseeing when we will be able to pay. in such an horrid country as this where we dayly make an extravagant expence by the high price of all kinds of provisions and all that without any benefit whatsoever even success, to our work, for, after having spent much money for the portage of our effects on these lands we shall be obliged to transport them again to the town, on account of the impossibility in which we are to live this winter in the woods for want of land in sufficient quantity sowed to provide even for our cattle.

In my last handed to you by Mr. Keating I mentioned to you that the clearing was going on very slowly that Mr. De Montullé had made an undertaking above his strength, and that from the way they were going on it appeared we should have nothing sowed this summer, my fears unluckily have been verified, for in the whole tract there are yet only 10 acres cleared by Brown's company of workmen 5 of which belong to Mr. De Montullé & 5 acres to Mr. Brevost, the latter are not even ready, the logs not being yet burnt.

You'll be able to judge & frightened at the same time of the obstacles the settlers have to overcome on these new lands when you'll know that the clearing of an acre cost to the company near 30 Dollars, to give you an idea thereof you may easily calculate. There is a company of ten men who are at work since the beginning of May on Mr. de Laroue's land, who will have nearly done in 15 days, and all that time to clear between 11 & 12 acres of ground. from that it appears to me that Mr. de Laroue's clearing will come to 36 Dollars thereabout per acre everybody here is disgusted, everybody talks of quitting, even Mr. de Montullè who says that if he could get one or 2 shillings proffit on his purchase per acre he would give up all Ideas of settling in this Country

Come Sir, Come very quick, come to reestablish confidence for it is terribly low every where; your arrival will doubtless cheer up many people. as for us except the pleasure of seeing you it is almost impossible that your residence here (our only wish last spring) could make

us support with patience our misfortunes. it is high time for us not to trouble you any more of Individuals that have always weighed very heavy upon you without being able to show you their gratitude

Dont believe that my complaints & the resolution which my family hath taken of quitting of ever this country are the result of inconstanty or levity of our minds, but come here very soon, see & Judge yourself of our situation & Mr. Brevost is in the same resolution.

if I was alone far from complaining of my situation I would Laugh at it, but I have a mother who begins to be old whom I cannot leave to herself, therefore I pass my young Days in an occupation which will never give me a penny's proffit; all that I forsee for me is to be for ever ruined & remain in the impossibility of doing any thing if I continue to stay on Land that cost 30 Dollars per acre for clearing.

besides my personal sorrows I must answer for a sum Due by the Company to one Fuller for some wheat which hath been delivered and not paid to him; he hath obtained a Writ against me as having contracted with him; all I could obtain was a Delay which will be at end the 18th of august. the sum amounts to 4 pounds

Esquire Gore hath in his hands for 60 or 70 Dollars of your notes of hands. he remitted me a letter which herein inclosed in which he explains the matter

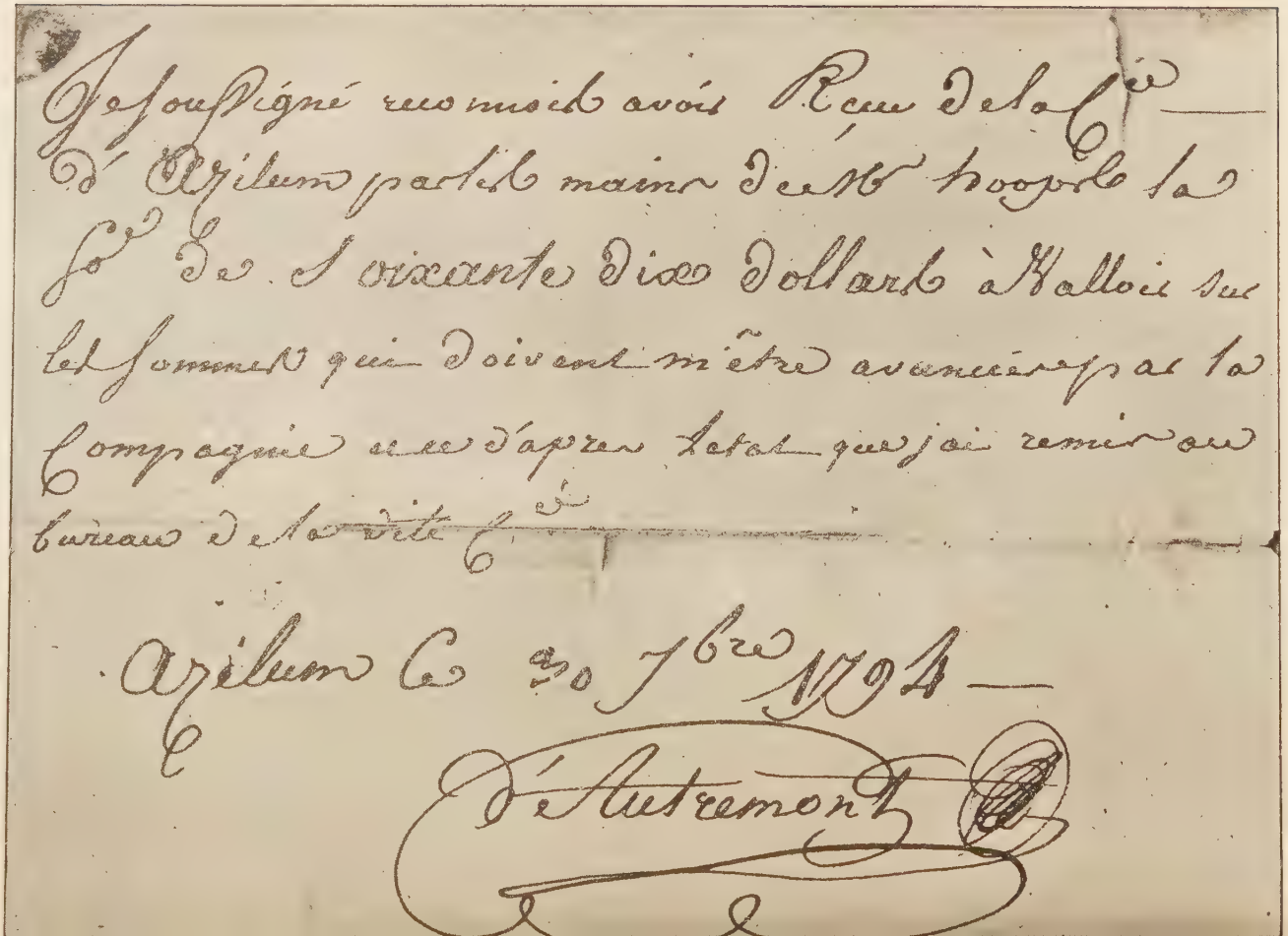
if you have not sold your farm near Philadelphia and if you have not engaged a farmer, & if it could suit you to take my family as farmer I would accept with pleasure.

Waiting for the pleasure of seeing you or hearing from you I remain

D'autremont jr.

Alexander d'Autremont had already followed Boulogne to the West Indies in the hope of securing a title to the Chenango lands he had sold to them. Apparently they felt they had again been deceived in the prospects at Asylum. As near as we can judge, Boulogne's activities ceased with a transfer of responsibility to Hoops in 1795. (Further account to be found in Chapter II.)

The colony dragged out a forlorn existence for about ten years from its inception. Many vicissitudes resulted from the financial disasters of its founders and the consequent frequent reorganization; yet, for a time at least, the prevailing note, true to the French nature, was cheerfulness. Probably no unsettled country ever saw in its midst a colony representative of so much brilliancy and suffering as this "Azilum" with its nobles, courtiers, soldiers, clergy and many a lesser light who had suffered in the crash of the old order, or the strife and confusion of the new. Here Royalists, Constitutionalists, Republicans, aristocrats and plebeians found a common bond in the scars-left by adversity. There were few among them who had not lost friends or property, and their hearts were ever in France and their ears strained for every bit of precious news. While they had escaped from the strain of uncertain existence on the Continent, they had the pressing need of activity to supply wants of those near; and above all, the short-lived hope in the hearts of many loyal subjects that here their queen and her children might find refuge in the land that owed so much to France. With that hope crushed. doubtless their spirits failed and they



Je soussigné reconnois avoir Reçu de la Cie d'Asylum par la main de Mr Hoppe la Somme de Soixante Dix Dollars à Valoir sur les Sommes qui doivent m'être avancées par la Compagnie ainsi d'après Etat que j'ai remis au bureau de la dite Cie

Asylum Co ce 7bre 1794

Dautremont

eagerly awaited the shifting currents that might carry them safely back to their beloved country; to share her fortunes or misfortunes, to work, to fight or to die for her.

And as sane conditions were restored, France felt the loss of the exiles and in 1799 began to institute rehabilitory measures. When Napoleon was made consul in 1802, a general amnesty was proposed to emigrés. None were more pleased than those at Asylum where there was an increasing discontent as well as disagreement with the Yankee settlers, and more especially the artisans who took great advantage of the foreigners and their ignorance of our language. It was long ago related by the descendants of those who remained, that when the postman brought the good news, he rode into the settlement waving his hat and shouting to all he met until he was hoarse. Everyone followed his example, throwing up their hats, shouting "Vive la France," and in the ecstatic French fashion embracing and kissing each other in rapture while there were many tears shed. Days were spent in feasting and rejoicing, and the majority prepared to return as fast as means could be secured. Talon was already gone. De Noalles relinquished his interest in 1803. Keating was settled in Delaware, as shown by many of the receipted accounts. We have no very positive records as to when the various colonists left, but it is worthy of note that there are no deeds to land in Asylum prior to 1803. Talon sold or gave much of his land to Laporte, who was made agent, and to him and Charles Homet, both of whom remained, the settlers sold their lands, abandoning their houses, which gradually went to decay. At its height the colony could boast of only fifty houses and probably not more than two hundred residents. Laporte and his descendants occupied "La Grande Maison," always called by them the Queen's House, until 1839, and in 1840, for fear of fire, it was demolished and some of the timbers used in constructing a carriage house, which still stands southwest of the house built by John, only son of Bartholomew Laporte, now known as the Hagerman house, which is just southwest of the site of the house built by Talon.

Hagerman House

As to the other Frenchmen, there are various bits of information gathered from many sources. M. de Blâcons returned to France, became a member of the National Assembly, and committed suicide after reverses at the gaming table. Dr. Buzard became an eminent physician in Cuba. Ezra Fromentin, said to have been acting priest at Asylum, later became a Judge in Florida. Abbé Colin went to the West Indies as chaplain in the army about 1802, and later made his way to Charleston, S. C., where he lived until his death in 1824. Abbé Carles alone proved faithful to his vows, (according to Griffin) serving his church faithfully in San Domingo, in Savannah and France. Becdelièvre returned to France in 1808, also Montullé. Beaulieu, who had served in the American Revolution, remained in America and his descendants are now known by name of Boileau. According to existing letters, the Laroues returned to France in 1801. Old Mrs. Vanderpoel said the last of the French went away about 1804 although not together. We know of Peter Regnier only by two letters in our possession, the first addressed to John Keating in 1799 saying that he was leaving for a voyage of six or seven weeks; the second addressed —"Judge Obadiah Gore at Old Schechekeen by Wilkesbarre," written at Wilmington, Nov. 1903. While part of this letter concerned the sale of his mill at Asylum, he adds the following interesting observations: "After a long journey two years in Europe, I am returned to this country, with the intention never to quit it again, being of opinion that there is not a better one in the world!" And this in spite of the fact that on his second arrival he found his business partner had made his escape to the West Indies with a large sum of money that Regnier had remitted after selling his properties in France. His good use of English and excellent penmanship prove that Regnier was a man of education. John Brevost is said to have been the last Frenchman to leave Asylum, perhaps because he had advertised the opening of a French school there.*

*WILKES-BARRE GAZETTE—PUBLISHED BY JOSEPH WRIGHT.

A French School.

The subscriber, a Frenchman born in Paris, where he resided from his birth until he was thirty-three years of age, respectfully informs the public that he intends to open at Asylum a school for teaching the French language. He flatters himself that he is able to give a knowledge of his tongue and its pronunciation as it is spoken among the well educated people of Paris. He knows by experience that in a period of eighteen months, by living in his family and pursuing a regular course of study, a child of common understanding and who is previously taught to write will be able to speak that tongue correctly.

The price of tuition and boarding a child between the age of ten and sixteen years will be sixty bushels of wheat per year, to be delivered at Newtown, Tioga, Asylum, or Wilkes-Barre, at the places pointed out by the subscriber, one half every six months.

It is well known how useful is the knowledge of a language which within a hundred years has become the common tongue of Europe; is spoken by two large regions of the continent and which the reward of a sincere friendship between the American and French nations will render necessary to young gentlemen who intend to follow the political or mercantile life.

John Brevost.

Asylum, Luzerne Co. Penna. Jan. 5, 1801.

Brevost went to Ceres where he was appointed, in 1805, the first Justice of Peace. He took with him a colored boy born at Asylum in 1793 and named "Asylum Peters." He was the only slave ever held in Ceres and was sold by Brevost for $100. After living there a number of years Brevost removed to New Orleans.

Major Adam Hoops, so long the managing agent, went to the Ceres lands in 1804, where he was reported as "a man of means and culture, enterprising and helpful." Of the French who remained at Asylum more will be given in Biographies.

June 1, 1917, we have just found a few more records of service of Asylum exiles in our Revolutionary War which should interest all readers. Blanchard, Beaulieu, Autichamp, Cadignan, Cottineau, Montullé, de Villaines increase our debt to France for deeds of the past.

Blanchard was reported by General Rochambeau after Yorktown as a man of the greatest distinction. He and his son were Commissioners of War.

Autichamp especially distinguished himself at Yorktown.

Beaulieu served in the Legion of Pulaski as Captain of Infantry. He was wounded in the fight of Saint Lucia.

"Baron de Cadignan was Colonel of a St. Domingo regiment which came to this continent to take part in the siege of Yorktown." Montullé had honorable mention.

Denis W. Cottineau was Captain of the ship *Pallas* in the engagement between the *Serapis* and the *Bonhomme Richard.*

Judging from the scanty evidence they have left concerning it, Azilum to its founders and visitors was soon only an episode, a brief hour in their checkered lives, perhaps one of the less lurid bits of existence in which the Revolution, fickle mistress, left small chance of monotony. But perhaps the mind-starved pioneers of the Pennsylvania wilderness, absorbed in the fierce struggle of the frontiersman for existence, had more to thank them for than he realized. Fresh from the heart of a civilization famous for its luxury and frivolity, fresh from the seething centre of European life, this little group of brilliant men and women brought into the atmosphere of dull routine and hardships of the backwoods a zest in life, a spirit, a mode of living which was the unending marvel of the Yankees and of their descendants to this day. They had also established regular posts, better roads, circulation of cash and a knowledge of the comforts of civilization.

Judge Stevens thus summarizes the whole venture:

"If Talon with a liberal hand seldom equalled, extended relief to hundreds of his distressed countrymen, if with an extensive foresight, a correctness of judgment and an energy of decision which few men possess, he was able to create resources sufficient to supply the expense and keep good his fund, he certainly made a great mistake in fixing on a place for settlement in a great bow of the river, where it was not only unlikely but almost impossible that any traveled road up and down the river should ever pass except for the special accommodation of the village, being surrounded with high hills on every side but the north, and all convenience of communication cut off on that side by the river with a large cluster of islands and swift water. In this way, being cut off from all Post Roads and communication with travelers, it is easily seen that the town could never have become a very public place especially as the Company did not own the immediate adjacent country. But he is gone, the French settlers are gone and the settlement converted into a few good farms, and Asylum is become the name of the township."

In these conclusions Judge Stevens ignored the fact that the location was specially chosen for its inaccessibility because of the original plan of Talon and deNoailles here to secrete the Royal Family of France!

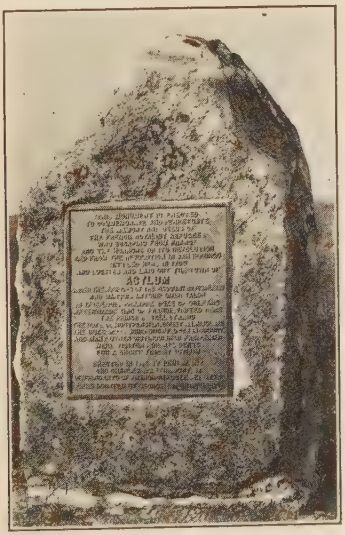
In 1804 Asylum was visited by Alex. Wilson, but must have been practically abandoned then. In 1809 a traveler mentions passing "the ruins of Asylum." In 1824 few houses were standing except that of Talon. In 1836 the whole town site was plowed up by Ulysses Moody; he told the writer it was grown over with saplings and nothing remained of the houses but the cellars. To-day not a trace remains except in the old French road, a few country roads, where streets were laid out, and the names of Laporte and Homet.

Asylum to-day is situated in Bradford County. The original township was taken from Wyalusing in 1814. From this Albany was set off in 1824. Durell was formed from Asylum, Monroe and *Wilmot* in 1842. *Wilmot* reorganized with part of Asylum in 1858. Then followed a dispute over names, settled in 1859 by changing the name of Durell to Asylum and of what had been Asylum last to Terry. To visit Asylum one may stop off at the station on Lehigh Valley R. R., called Homet's Ferry, cross the ferry and persuade someone to carry him to the site of the old French town, now included in the farms of the Laportes, Gordons and Hagermans.

In 1917 the motorist may go from Towanda, finding a good road all the way; or leave the railroad at Standing Stone, crossing a good bridge across the Susquehanna. He will find many prosperous homes of the descendants of Charles Homet and Bartholemew Laporte, and having reached the Market Square on the Laporte farm he will find the Boulder and tablet with appropriate inscription as follows:

THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED
TO COMMEMORATE AND PERPETUATE
THE MEMORY AND DEEDS OF
THE FRENCH ROYALIST REFUGEES
WHO ESCAPED FROM FRANCE
AND THE HORRORS OF ITS REVOLUTION
AND FROM THE REVOLUTION IN SAN DOMINGO
SETTLED HERE IN 1793
AND LOCATED AND LAID OUT THE TOWN OF
ASYLUM
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE VISCOUNT de
NOAILLES AND MARQUIS ANTOINE OMER TALON
IN 1796 LOUIS PHILIPPE, DUKE OF ORLEANS
AFTERWARDS KING OF FRANCE, VISITED HERE
THE PRINCE de TALLEYRAND
THE DUKE de la ROCHEFOUCAULD de LIANCOURT
AND MANY OTHER DISTINGUISHED FRENCHMEN
WERE VISITORS OR RESIDENTS FOR A SHORT TIME
AT ASYLUM.
ERECTED IN 1916 BY JOHN W. MIX
AND CHARLES d' AUTREMONT, JR.
DESCENDANTS OF FRENCH REFUGEE SETTLERS
LAND DONATED BY GEORGE LAPORTE HEIRS

Let him visit the site of the Queen's House, drink from the very spring that furnished water for Talon and his guests, climb the hill to the little burial plot of the Laportes, or higher still to the "Table Rock" where the French women delighted to serve tea. He will be in sympathy with those dames who demanded the cutting of trees that obstructed the view of the lovely winding river, and he will ever remember the story of the French refugees and their "Azilum."



CHAPTER II

Business Methods and Activities at Asylum From the Account Books

Here, as elsewhere, so much has come to hand since publication of first edition, that it seemed best to devote a separate chapter to business methods, rather than to attempt to incorporate in old narrative. During the Civil War, the late Harmon A. Chambers of Philadelphia, one of those history-loving surveyors, haunted the sales of old papers and ransacked many places of sale, buying at a nominal sum all the papers that seemed to him valuable. To him we are indebted for some leaves from what was doubtless the first Journal of Entry of the Asylum Company, opened at Philadelphia April 22, 1794, a date coincident with that of the organization of the first Asylum Company. Mr. Chambers had the whole book, but it was so heavy and with so few entries that he cut out the twenty-five pages of writing, for the entries only extended to July 14, 1795, just covering the purchase by Nicholson of Morris' interest (see Appendix) and the payments of the first dividends.

First entry, April 22—"To Stock—For the quantity of Lands to be supplied by Morris, Nicholson, de Noailles and Talon, conformably to their agreement of this date, and for which they are to receive 5000 Shares to be delivered in proportion as the lands are supplied at the rate of 200 acres per share."

May 12, Stock in lands—24 tracts in Luzerne County containing 9.589 acres at 8 shillings per acre. Nicholson paid on June 4 $2000, and July 8th John Keating gave a note payable in 60 days to Nicholson for $3000.

In August Boulogne began to draw on Morris, Nicholson and Hollenback at sight for large sums with which to pay the workmen. As has already been noted, his demands were constant and even querulous as was his nature. As we have only his letters to Matthias Hollenback we do not know both sides of the story.

Asylum 2 December 1794

Sir

At ten days sight please pay —
To Ezekiel Brown or order Four hun=
=dred and Thirty dollars Sixty five Cents
for account of the Asylum Company
Dlrs 430.65 Cts

[signature]

The Honble
Robt Morris Esqr
Philadelphia

£15.5 = 430.65
46.00
384.65

(Boulogne to Hollenback, by the hand of Obadiah Gore Esq.) (Nov. 15, 1793)

Standing Stone. 9ber 15th 1793

Sir:

Esqre Gore going to your place on account of Business and having some business with him to settle, I have drawn this day at sight on you & to his order the sum of fifteen dollars which I hope you'll pay on presentation and charge it to the account of, Sir,

Yours

Ch'es Bué Boulogne.

(Boulogne to Hollenback, by the hand of Asa Johnson) (Nov. 16, 1793.)

Standing Stone, 9ber 16th 1793.

Sir:

Confirming my two letters of yesterday one carried to you by the Viscount de Noailles the other by Esqre Gore, I write to you this one to advise you that I have drawn upon you at sight,

Dollars 42, order of Asa Johnson
ditto 46, do of William Dunmead

Total 88 Dollars, to which Draughts I hope you'll give a due acceptance.

I suppose the Viscount hath spoke to you relating the franklin stove and pipes, which we want here, the weather hindering us from having the chimneys made; therefore I beg you to send them as quick as possible.

I remain with esteem,
Sir, Yours,
Ch'es Boulogne.

(Boulogne to Hollenback, by Joseph C. Town, Nov. 22, 1793)

Standing Stone, 9ber 22d 1793.

Sir:

I received yesterday by Mr. d'Autremont the favour of yours dated 18th instant, as also the four hundred Dollars which you had delivered to him, for which you are credited. And give you by this notice that I have drawn this day on you at 20 days sight the sum of one hundred and eighty dollars order of Joseph Curtis Town, to which draught I beg you to give a due acceptance, also credited you of the same.

You tell me, sir, in your letter of the 4th instant that you have received my two draughts on Robt Morris for 2000 Dollars cash & moreover from the Viscount de Noailles one thousand dollars toward my supplies till January, which makes in all three thousd Dollars deducting what I had received; in your last of the 18th you tell me the 400 Dollars you sent me are all you can spare; that as to the supplies you expect to be paid as I agreed with you for and no otherwise; and you add you have agreed with the Viscount de Noailles to accept my draught on you in the amount of 800 Dollars. I see nothing clear and explicit in those letters, and I should like to know on what I can depend. All I see thro' this, is that if you don't intend to be paid down for our supplies, you ought to have more than 400 Dollars to spare; and if you do intend to be paid for those supplies either beforehand or on the delivery, I wish to know as quick as possible and as plain also as possible because I shall act accordingly. I believe that I ought to know on what ground I am to stand, particularly having business with so many hands from all quarters for work & being determined to take no engagements that I could not fulfill.

I remain, with Consideration,
Sir, Yours,
Ch'es Bué Boulogne.

(Boulogne to M. H., Nov. 27, 1793.)

Standing Stone, 9ber 27th 1793.

Mathias Hollenback Esqre

Sir:

This is to inform you that according to your Letter of the 18th instant I have drawn to-day on you at twenty days sight, order of Mr Elizer Gaylord the of sum twenty-four Dollars to which draught I expect you will give full acceptance & charge to the account of

Sir, Yours,

Ch'es Bué Boulogne.

(Boulogne to M. H., by Palmer Shaw, Dec. 3, 1793.)

Standing Stone, Xber 3d 1793.

Sir:

I received by Mr Palmer Shaw your canoe man the two Barils of slacked lime you have sent me, as also the 2 Barils of Nails, one large anvil, 1 bick horn*, 1 stack to make nails, and six bars of Iron which Mr Dupetit Thouars had left behind him.

I also received by Mr Town your letter of the 20th last, advising me of the arrival here of Esqre Ross's Boat, with different things for the settlement.

I remain, Sir,

* Beak horn.

Yours,

Ch'es Boulogne.

(Boulogne to Hollenback, Dec. 3, 1793.)

Standing Stone, Xber 3d 1793.

Sir:

This is to inform you that according to you Letter of the 18th of November last I have this day drawn on you at twenty days sight to Mr John Harvey or order the sum of fourty two Dollars which you'll be kind enough to accept and charge to the account of

Sir, Yours

Ch'es Bué Boulogne.

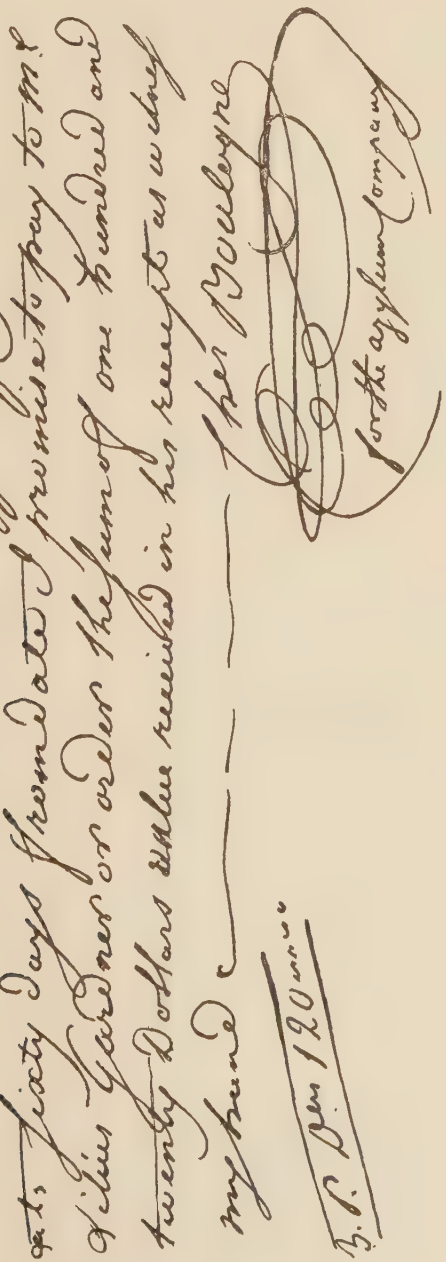
Boulogne's accounts were all entered in the Journal as "Improvements at Asylum." And here we must mention, as often coincident with the Journal, the ledger or account book kept, as was the Journal, by Adam Hoops, agent, which with many small papers have recently been discovered or brought to the writer's notice in the archive department at Harrisburg.*

This ledger is a home made book, possibly manufactured at Asylum. It is a folio of sheets of English made paper (watermark Floyd & Co.) sewed together, ruled by hand and having a cover of real homespun linen, hemmed by hand. Accounts opened May 21, 1794. First items—Books, stationery, inkstand, blotting paper, etc., for use of Asylum Company.

June 4th entry: "Reed of Hon. R. Morris, president of the board of managers of the Asylum Company, a check on the bank of the U. S. for $2000," evidently because Hoops was starting for Asylum, as the next entry is made there. "June 14. Amt of expenses from Philadelphia to this place for self and servant, £5.18s—11d.

*Dr. Jordan having suggested research at Harrisburg, application was made to Charles E. Fritcher, who enlisted the offices of the Search Clerk, the State Librarian and the Archivist, to all of whom we are indebted for many favors.

The cash from Morris was at once paid to Boulogne to settle the workmens' accounts, and curious enough were the many forms he used in satisfying the workmen's claims when cash was not available. His orders or notes were generally signed as agent.



Many deductions may be made from this book and another labelled "Acct· of Adam Hoops with Asylum Company" dates same as in ledger already mentioned, and often corresponding with entries in Journal. We will give them as they appear of interest from consecutive entries.

Oct. 13, 1794. Morris and Nicholson purchased 1,300 acres of land near Tioga Point at 9s. per acre.

Dec. 31· Morris paid in $500. "toward paying dividends." Nicholson furnished all the rest of the cash toward dividends, in all $21,679.83. Although Morris is said to have sold out all his interest, forty-five shares were in his name as long as the Company existed. No dividends were paid until July 1, 1795 and then both for January and July, $15 per share. February 21, 1795, it is recorded that so far, the original proprietors—Morris, Nicholson, Noailles and Talon had furnished only 352,766 of the million acres promised by them as stock. Noailles and Talon failed to fulfill the contract (terms not mentioned) which they made with Boulogne, and finally he was paid by Asylum Company an indemnity of $2,000. In closing the books July 14, 1795, Hoops foots up: "Improvements at Asylum" from April 22, 1794, as having cost $12,418.90.

The log houses had separate kitchens in true southern style, doubtless the St. Domingo custom. Dupetithouar seems to have charge in Boulogne's place from July 1794, probably during his enforced absences. Large bill for freight doubtless by wagon "from Chemung and Tioga Point", where there were trading posts or shops. Keating came in July, 1794, bringing $3,000, less his expenses. Beaulieu certainly had a shop as well as an inn and enough cash to lend to others. Blâcons was postmaster, Aubry and Julie servants, Jean the butcher, Blanchard and Dunmead masons, William Jane shoemaker, Montullé furnished lumber, J. Town a carpenter. There was at first considerable trade with the merchants at Tioga Point and cattle were purchased there. Lowry was a boat-builder, White a locksmith. Captain Wattles furnished iron and crockery ware. Chairs were purchased from Major Dodge, a Yankee settler. Nearly all the workmen called Dupetithouar Captain, not Admiral.

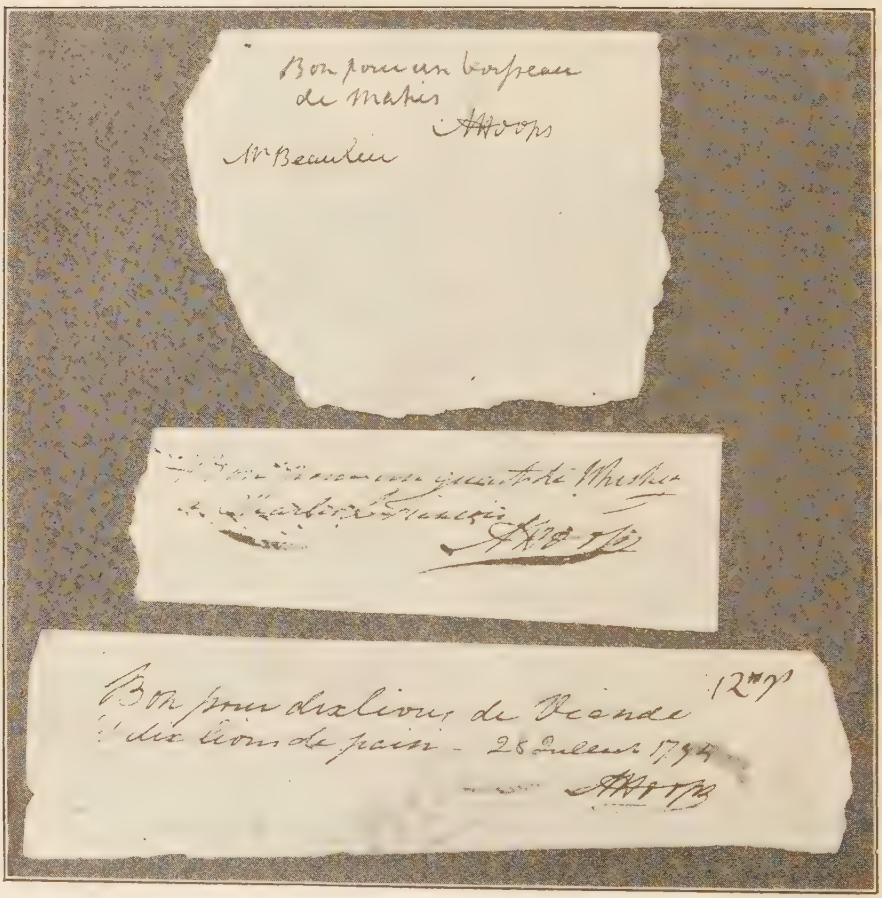
From July, 1794, many large surveying parties were out, the chief head being Christopher Hurlburt, for whom supplies were furnished in large quantities as "80 lbs of Biscuit, 122 lbs flour."

The mill tract and mill were purchased from Stephen Durell.

The so-called "Shenango families," d'Autremont, Brevost and others were each paid seventy dollars" on account of Boulogue's engagements with them." d'Autremont had $500 later. Hoops was out with the surveyors a month on the "Mahoppeny" and fifty-eight days on the Loyalsock and "Towandee." Charles le Francois is often mentioned, evidently at some time an inn-keeper, as he furnished bread and whisky to the surveyor's gangs. They were large, and evidently there was much difficulty in procuring provisions and their demands naturally were insistent. One item or added items was 299 loaves of bread which cost .16 per loaf. They must have been huge ones as wheat was .30 to .75 and potatoes only .30 per bushel.

There was never enough cash, and there are dozens of notes signed by Boulogue for the Company, and other bits of paper still more curious. In examining the ledger we found again and again the entry "Gave a Bon." This was incomprehensible until among the bundles of receipts were found many veritable scraps of paper, which were evidently written as hurried orders.

These explained the book entries, written for the benefit of the shopkeepers who spoke no English.



Translations

1. Good for one bushel of corn.
2. Good for one quart of whisky.
3. Good for ten pounds of meat and ten pounds of bread.

The Company advanced money to any settler for his expenses in clearing land. Several of them always wrote the name *Azilum.* Sometimes the accounts rendered by Boulogne were almost supplicatory in their nature, ending by saying: "Which sum Mr. Hoops will pay *if it is in his power,*" and again "Settled with so and so by desire of Mr. Talon."

Yet added to the $5000 provided by Morris and Keating, James Duncan, one of the first share holders, furnished or paid in $5000, and Nicholson $400, sight drafts on Robert Morris $2000. Poor Morris! The wondrous financier of our War of the Revolution, was drawing very near the debtors' prison, where be it ever America's shame, he died.

The ignorance of the English language led to many confusing errors, the man's trade often being used for his surname in orders sent in. On the other hand the Yankee twist given the French names was often curious indeed as Mr. Bullong, Colebox for Coolbaugh and Captain Petitoix. Hoops' washing was done at the expense of the Company, at three shillings and nine pence per dozen. Ten shillings was charged for "boy driving cattle from Tioga Point to French Settlement," sometimes called "Society of Azilum."

According to material used, Beaulieu had a very large house (number of lot not given) and a large barn with stalls, racks and troughs, for which barn were used 4000 shingles at 10s. Another large house was that of Myersbach or Morrisback, with twenty-nine hundred feet of floors, six rooms, four fireplaces with "Brestworks," nine doors, base and surbase finish around the six rooms, 1887 feet of ceiling at 15s., and a staircase which Boulogne thought cost too much. Morrisback was one of the original purchasers of 1000 acres, but of him we have no other record except that he had certain rights on the wharf. Mansy Colin signed his first name "Mansury." He seems to have had charge of the erection of many houses, but especially for the "Shenang families *in the woods*", Brevost's cost £26 and d'Autremont's £24. It was in one of Colin's accounts of various materials for the houses that we found the interesting item of the "altar stones ordered from the grand vicar of the Bishop of Baltimore" and the stone cutters' bill for work on same.

d° M^r Colin

to Journey to phil	L°	2:	11
to Blanchard order		1:5	6
to Enos		2:5	0
to Cash		37:10	
	41	3	5

Centra

By a Ray	L°	18:	9
by Cash	2.	15:	6
by Ben to charles	8:	2:	2
ditto Dunmead	2	0	8
d. Beaubien	6	9	11
by d^o and d. Antremont	19	5.	0
by d. Pepper	3	2	4
by M^rs. Beaubien for M^r Hulbert		2	0
by Cash	37	10	4
		9: 7:	6

M^r. Hoops request M^r. Colin to pay the residue of his guaranti of M^ll Brevort and d Antremont one half of each is allready paid the contract will show the amounts also to pay Mayhew for Mayors Bank Stars & to recover the movable parts of the potash Works. —

M. Colin

	46	17	10
D° L^re	41	3	5
bal due M^r Collin	5	14	5

One of Colin's Accounts

Following is the only bill of lading for Asylum known to be in existence, original in possession of Hollenback heirs.

(A bill of lading for Mr. Tallon M. H.)

Effets delivrée au Charetier

Pour Monsieur Tallon

	TRANSLATION
9. Boittes de Vere a Vitre	9 boxes window glass
2. Malles	2 trunks
200. lbs. 'Acier	200 lbs of steel
6. Boittes de differentes Grandeurs	6 boxes of different sizes
1. Do. de Moutarde	1 do of mustard
1. Bbl. contenant Poids et Mesures	1 Bbl. containing weights and measures
2. Q. aux de Cordage	2 Cwt. of cordage
1. Tiercone de Sucre blanc	1 tierce of white sugar
4. Sacs Caffe	4 sacks coffee
1. Bbl. de Salpetre	1 Bbl. saltpeter
1. do. Amidon	1 do. starch
1. do. Epicerie	1 do. groceries
1. do. Thé	1 do. tea
1. do. Quincaillerie	1 do. hardware
1. do. Vinegre.	1 do. vinegar.

Les effets chargés sur les Wagons de M. Parrish doivent etre rendue à Wilkes Barré et delivré au Col. Hollinback, qui payera le voiturge à raison de 11 shellings du cent pesant à comte du quel j'ai payé cinquante gourdes* tant pour ces objets que pour ceux chargé ches M. Hollingsworth et par M. Wright.

The goods loaded on Mr. Parrish's wagons should be forwarded to Wilkes-Barre and delivered to Col. Hollinback, who will pay the cartage at the rate of 11 shillings per cwt. on account of which I have paid fifty gourdes more for these articles than for those charged to Mr. Hollingsworth and by Mr. Wright.

The annexed letters show methods and difficulties of transportation.

"Sept. 25, 1794.

Matthias Hollenback

Sir:

The following articles I beg you will be so kind as to secure in your store, to be forwarded to Asylum to Mr. Keating by the first opportunity. As I intend to move up very soon with part of my family, I should like to know if the water will allow to go up in a small boot, and whether such thing might be procured at Wilkesbarre. In case the water being too low for boats, would it be a matter of possibility to hire a canoe to carry one ton. I shall take it as a great kindness, Sir, if you will take the trouble to give me such information, and likewise if horses fetch a good price in your place; as when I move up I shall have two capital horses to spare.

I remain with all esteem, Sir

Your very obt Servt.

Col. Hollenback.

Pottsgrove, 25th 7bre, 1794.

J. Montullé.

The load consists of three chests covered with leather and skin, two chests of plain wood, one large bundle containing beddings, Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17; six articles and one large copper kettle.

*"Gourde" is the Franco-American name for the colonial dollar in use in West Indies.

(John Montullé to M. Hollenback, Nov. 26, 1794.)

Sir:

I expect that before long Mr. Heller will forward you some goods marked Sibert No 1—2—&c., and likewise some marked MT, and numbered. I beg you will be so kind as to use the first opportunity to send them up to Asilum. You will be pleased to let me know what may (be) the expense of the carriage and storage (- -) I will make immediate remittance.

Mrs. Sibert and Mrs. La Roue beg to be both remembered to Mrs. Hollenback. Please to receive my grateful thanks for your kindness to us during our stay at Wilkesbarre, and believe me with all esteem, Sir,

Your very obt. hble. Servt.

Asilum, 26, 9b. 1794. J. Montullé.

(J. Montullé to Mrs. Matthias Hollenback, undated; probably in March or April 1795)

Madam:

This moment comes to my knowledge that Mrs. Sibert who chiefly owns the goods deposited in your store room, had in date of the 8th of March written to Mr. Blanchard to take up the said goods. Mr. Colin has done the same; therefore it is not in my power to disappoint him.

J. Montullé.

John Keating was married in 1797, and thereafter resided in Wilmington, but still maintained his interests in Asylum and managed some of its financial transactions, as shown by the letter from John Cowden, Post Master, who looked after transportation and accounts at Northumberland.

DR. JOHN KEATING IN ACC. WITH JOHN COWDEN CR.

1798		1798	
9 Oct. to F. King's order fav. Jos. J. Bur	£16. 1.10	Oct. 25. By my Dfs. on you fav. Saml. Meeker	£18.15.
28 Nov. Do. fav. S. Slade	15.18. 9	By Ball.	19.16.10
28 Nov. Do. fav. Jno. Conway..	2.16. 3		
28 Nov. Do. fav. Jerred Welch..	3.15.		
	£38.11.10		£38.11.10

Northd. 20th Dec. 1798.

Dr. Sir:

I have drawn on you for the above Ballance of Ninteen Pounds 16:10 fav. Meeker Denman & Co. Respecting the deeds you mentioned to me in the lands of Jno. Kidd, I have spoke to him who says he remembers of only two, they were from Morris Nicholson to Matw. Clarkson & Jared Ingersol in trust for the Asylum Company. These two deeds was sent by Sherriff Stewart of Lycoming County to Mr. Gibson. If there is any other mention them particularly & I will attend to the business. In May 95 I settled an Acc. of Nicholas Gales with Chas. Boulogne and Jams. Duncan the Ball. in fav. of Gale was twenty Eight Dolls. & 4:6. Mr. Duncan requests me to leave Gales' papers & draw an order on him

for the amount which I did fav. of Whelen & Miller but was not paid. The articles Gale delivered the Asylum Compy. was provisions. He is a poor man and if you can conveniently procure the money for him it will serve him verry essentially. If that can't be done be so obliging as to send me Gale's Receipts for without them he will with propriety look to me for the Amt. of the Ball.

From Yr. Obt. Servt.

John Cowden.

A servant's account written by one who had scant command of English reads as follows:

"WALLOIS' ACCOUNT

"There was due him January 12
Since 28 Sundays at 3-9
28 half Thursdays
100 days of drinks or "pour boires."
The two summer shirts that he has not taken
Gave to him March 2, a suit of clothes.
One day of work at his home
In dollars—28 dollars.

I have received from M. Dupetithouar the sum of 11 pounds, 5 shillings 1½ pence for payment of all accounts at my departure from the French establishment of Asylum.

Wallois."

There has been little or no mention in local histories of the settlement on "the Tawandee" but here we have the record of work done building houses there, twenty workmen employed 40 days at 7 shillings, and the building of six bridges; and later there is the bill of a surveyor or explorer of "a road from Tawandee to the Northumberland road," Nov. 22, 1794. Ezekiel Brown, surveyor, "began the Loyal Sock road for Major Hoops Sept. 3, 1794 and Dec. 3 settled acct. for opening it, 5 hands, 72 days at 4 shillings." Andrew Kyle was a "road explorer."

One amusing acct. of a purveyor to an exploring party indicates a great desire for fresh vegetables. While some English could write in French and vice versa here was an illiterate: "for packing provishuns in to the woods, for three jurneys, my Self and hors, for trobl of geting half Bushel of peas for vittels and Logging one of your men. Edward Culver."

The natural courtesy of the French was shown even in their accounts, in which "Beaulieu wishes good day to Mr. Hoops and prays that he will send him an obligation for Mr. Hopkins' horse," and again, he makes his compliments even in asking him to pay a ditch digger.

Beaulieu fait ses Compliment
au major hoops. il le prie de
Donner un ordre a Winnen
pour le magazin afin de
Le payer de Deux Dollars, et
Demi. qu'il lui Est Du pour
avoir Creusé la fosé des
Commodité. de la maison
appartenant ala Compagnie
27. 9bre 1794

Mr Hoops fait ses complimants a
Mr Beaulieu. Il pourra payer
a Winnen les deux dollars et
demi et la Compagnie leur en
tiendra compte

Received in full
Jonas. D.C. Winans

Lumber and shingles were ordered from Major Pixly at Owego —easier to transport down a stream than up. The boat builder was ever busy, although the ferry boat with all its appurtenances was purchased from Samuel Hepburn who had a ferry at Athens. The ferry at Asylum was opened in October, 1794. It has been said that the French built a mill, but these accounts show that Durell had a mill which was contracted to Hollenback, but with the mill tract was purchased by the Asylum Company for a large sum, one of the three payments being £100. Louis Paul d'Autremont evidently went to near-by settlements to purchase supplies. Would he could visit Athens now *as then*, and purchase 100 bushels of wheat at 30 cents per bushel, although he could not find "Anna Margaret Spalding", of whom he bought it, to-day.

Current prices are of interest. While wheat and potatoes were at the same low price, other commodities were higher. Tea was 14 shillings per lb. and sugar 18 and 20 cents. Small wonder that the settlers engaged in the manufacture of maple sugar which could be had almost for the asking. We find but one record of coffee purchased, but immense amounts of chocolate at 2 shillings a pound, and moderate amounts of brandy and whisky. Boulogne was paid a salary although he had many shares in the Company's lands. Hoops gives accounts only of his living expenses and that of "my servant Sam." Servants wages were 3s. 9d. per week!

The potash works were very active, but there is no mention of ever building a distillery or a brewery. The last entries in the Harrisburg folio were made in December and show a very careful settlement with every one at Asylum, and then with those at Wilkes-Barré, and the final entry dated Philadelphia, Feb. 15, 1795, is of a draft on Robert Morris for Colin's account. There was one letter in the bundles addressed to Mr. Adam Hoops, No. 81 North Sixth Street, Philadelphia, which may have been the office of the company. All office supplies were purchased in Philadelphia of "Dobson, a stationer;" we note a *bottle* of india rubber and a supply of ink powder, and finally "tape and twine, to bind up the papers in the office."

Charles Bué Boulogne, while not a founder of Asylum, had so much to do with its establishment that it seems fitting to close the account of business activities by giving a brief sketch of his life or more particularly of his death. We have not investigated his ancestry or early life, but we are ready to dispute the statement that he was a soldier in the Revolution, finding no evidence of

service. That he was a lawyer is possible, quite proficient in English and active for a number of years in land dealings between France and America. We do not know his history from 1795, further than that he was paid a dividend on his shares in that year. Apparently after establishing the colony, he traveled back and forth to Philadelphia, and also the West Indies on Asylum or other land business. Fully fifty years ago a student of local history wrote of him that his knowledge of the topography of Sullivan county was far in advance of any other's even the surveyors who laid out roads twenty years after his death. And it was in that region he met his death.

From the Forks of the Loyal Sock a pack horse road known as the French Path ran to New Albany, then intersecting a road to Asylum. In July, 1796, Boulogne was traveling this road on horseback, and attempted to cross the creek near Hillsgrove, when it was greatly swollen by a recent storm. The Hill family who lived nearby tried to call to him not to try the ford, but they cound not be heard in the storm. His horse stumbled on the rocks in midstream, the current was very swift, the girth and the saddle gave way and he was plunged into the stream, from which it was impossible to extricate himself. He was drowned and was buried nearby. Although unmarked, the location of his grave is known in the cemetery adjoining the M. E. Church. It lies north and south rather than east and west as is the usual custom. There is still in existence an inventory preserved by John Hill and his descendants.

We reproduce this paper which was given to us by Ulysses Bird, nephew of a Hill descendant. Pierre Brunart was a resident of Asylum. Mr. Bird, now deceased, was anxious to have a marker put at this long neglected grave, surely a commendable thought. There is no other known account of Boulogne's death, nor of his successor at Asylum, if he had one.

an inventory of Cash and other things found on Mr
Charles Julien late Boulogne when drowned in Loyalsox
Seven Guineas one of which appears to be bad
one half do —
one Spanish gold piece the value not known, Supposed
to be about Six Dollars
one Silver medal
nine quarter dollars
one eighth of a do
and two Sixteenth's of do
and two fippereens
and one half do
four five Dollars Banke notes
one pair of tortle Shell Sleve buttons with Silver chain
one Goold watch
two knives two kees one hollow punch one pair Syses
one Snuff box
one Red Morocco pocket booke
one do bill case
one promisey note of Seven hundred dollars on John v
Bridelsford
John Evens note for 214 dollars
one large Map of Pensylania
Saveral large draughts of Land in Sundry places
one portmantue, one pair of Sad Cabage not yet found,
with his wearing apearel Boots and Spurs
taken this 20th Day of July 1796 before us
and Sundry papers in french not understood
taken before us this 20th of July 1796 and left in charge with
me John Odell Loyalsox

Robt Ogden
John Robb Justices

July 25th 1796
Rec'd the with in mentioned Cash and
other things late the property of M.
C. D. B. Boulogne deceas'd of John Hill
for the use of the said M. Boulogne's
administration &c - pr. me
pierre Bouvart

CHAPTER III

Asylum's Famous Visitors

In the Recollections of Samuel Breck, (1771-1862), a resident of Boston, Philadelphia and France, are many interesting comments on the French emigrés. He says:

"Congress held its sessions in Philadelphia until the year 1800, and gave to the city the style and tone of a capital. All the distinguished emigrants from France took up their abode there. The French Revolution was a paroxysm of rage, if I may so express myself, from 1792 to 1797 and by its fury kept many of the ablest sons of France abroad. I knew personally Talleyrand, de Noailles, Liancourt, Louis Philippe and his two brothers."

All these foreigners made an effort to see the United States, and especially to visit the various French colonies. Besides Rochefoucauld de Liancourt, who wrote the most about Asylum, the colony had several other famous visitors, who came to examine the town with a view to investments or refuge; or again who were traveling by the most frequented and well known route to or from Niagara Falls, an object of wonder then as now to all foreigners. At this time there was a bridlepath from Wilkes-Barré to Niagara Falls established by the trader Matthias Hollenback.

Prince Talleyrand

One of the visitors was Ternant, a General in the French Army, who had accompanied Lafayette, and later was Ambassador to the United States. Another was the erstwhile Bishop of Autun, well known to all as Prince Talleyrand. Exiled from France, and expelled from England by the application of the alien bill of 1794, he came to America rather against his will, and remained two years. His observations, as related in his memoirs, are of great interest because he gives intimate descriptions of

all the crudeness which was to him astounding. Indeed he said:

"The twelve years of the independence of the United States had been lost as far as progress in material prosperity had been concerned owing to the inefficiency of their first constitution."

However, he pictured Philadelphia, then the most beautiful city of the United States, in glowing terms. On landing he was received by an old acquaintance, Cazenove, then the Philadelphia agent of the great Holland Land Company. A few days after his arrival, according to law, he took the oath of fidelity to the government of Pennsylvania and of the United States. Lacombe, a recent biographer, says his arrival was an event in the American capital; but one who wrote nearer his time said that, renowned and clever as he was, he was also something of a scoundrel; and that his arrival in America was connected with a blackmailing scheme of political import. Washington declined to receive him either publicly or privately and when, about two years later, he wished to return to Europe, no vessel was willing to carry him, until a tempest drove into the Delaware a Prussian ship, whose captain consented to take the ex-Bishop, or as he was familiarly called, "the lame devil."

But at least the doors of the French were open to him in Philadelphia, and he soon found de Noailles, Talon and Blâcons, and of course heard at once of "Azylum." He decided to make a tour of the country and traveled most of the time spent here.

Breck seems to have been more interested than some other writers in "Talleyrand-Périgord" as he calls him, who was a frequent visitor in his home. He says:

"He stood conspicuous among the banished noblemen. When he started on his travels, such was the reported wild state of the interior, that he equipped himself in the costume of a backwoodsman and armed himself with a rifle as also his companion. The metamorphis from the bishop's lawn and purple to this savage garment was sufficiently ridiculous."

But they were better able to explore the forests. All of his friends were exploiting their colonies, and his comments on their *loghouses* (for which he could find no French word) and contents are very amusing. His biographer, after gleaning from his letters, and mentioning Gallipolis and other colonies visited, thus speaks of Asylum:

"Noailles and Talon associated with Robert Morris, one of the great money dealers of the new world, were engaged in the most extensive enterprise. Having acquired on the banks of the Susquehannah river of Pennsylvania more than a million uncultivated acres, they had there laid the foundations of a city, where M. de Blâcons and another refugee, the Canon Bec de Lièvre, each kept an inn for the first colonists. After

ups and downs this affair ended in a fiasco, but in the spring of 1794 it was well begun, with hope and confidence, and Talleyrand wrote to Mme. de Stael he was tormented not to have on hand sufficient funds to take his chance there at a fortune. Its projectors, by an exuberance of announcements in the press, and agents watching at the seaports for the newly arrived, counted on attracting the exiles of Europe. It was the fashion to speculate in lands."

From extracts from his letters to Mme. de Stael, it would seem that Talleyrand was more interested in the opportunity to become very rich than in the "infernal plan" attributed to him by Minister Fauchet, who also alludes to "the joy of Talon and de Noailles in receiving a reinforcement of constituents who were after their own heart."

Be that as it may, Talleyrand in the course of his travels of 1794 visited Asylum, was warmly received, and either then or when he returned to France, he took with him two of the young men of Asylum as aids or secretaries, Casimir de la Roue and Louis Paul d'Autremont. He remained in America thirty months, according to his memoirs. One of his impressions was that the United States of those days was still essentially English, that the services rendered by the French in the War of Independence were outweighed with the Americans by the practical advantage of standing well with the English merchants who were the United States' best customers. Washington appreciated this, and, in the opinion of Talleyrand, it dominated his policy, and was a standing obstacle to the triumph in America of French influence whether political or commercial. Yet, like most of the Frenchmen, and in spite of the refusal to see him, he had the greatest admiration for Washington. Washington wrote to Lansdowne expressing regret at his inability to receive Talleyrand, adding that he was being treated with a friendliness at Philadelphia which would go far to compensate him for what he might have lost in quitting Europe.

He rented a house "in the always elegant quarter of Third Street North, to which came all of his old friends of France." He wrote in a most interesting fashion of the American woodcutter, and after he traveled in New England, of the fisherman, and of the American people, "one day to be a great people and always the wisest and the happiest on earth." Indeed, in spite of his reported excesses, by which it was said he scandalized Americans, he won throughout the country a popularity of which traces were still found fifty years later. Very little is known about his visit to Asylum, but there were many gatherings with Liancourt, de Noailles and Talon in the little book shop of Moreau de St. Méry, where doubtless the problems of the colony were fully discussed.

The French Princes

The visitors who were the most famous and perhaps the most welcome at Asylum were undoubtedly the French Royal Princes of the House of Orleans. There are many conflicting statements concerning this family and their visit to America, and we have endeavored to glean from all sources the most interesting bits of truth in regard to them.

Robespierre especially desired the death of the entire Orleans family, hoping thereby to forestall a return to monarchial government. When a decree of banishment was issued for all the Bourbons, the eldest son, known as the Duc de Chartres or the Duke of Orleans, urged his father to seek a retreat in America. But too soon the family were arrested, the father beheaded in November, 1793, and the younger sons, imprisoned in the Chateau d'If on an island opposite Marseilles. Louis Philippe, as he was afterwards known, then twenty-three years old, was in the French army, where he had already won distinction for his bravery. On the arrest of the family he escaped to Switzerland in April, 1793. We do not know about the intervening years, as it is only recorded that he arrived in Philadelphia in the ship *America* twenty-seven days from Hamburg, October 24, 1796. Banished from France and penniless, their misfortunes attracted the attention of the ever generous Robert Morris, who supplied funds to bring the three brothers to America. The Due de Montpensier aged seventeen and Comte de Beaujolais aged twenty-one were released from imprisonment, on condition of separation from their mother and banishment from all Europe.

They joined their brother in Philadelphia February 6, 1797, having taken passage on a brig having on board one hundred Americans, just released from imprisonment at Algiers. "All bore their exile with philosophy, cheerful and resigned." Louis was at first entertained by Mr. Coningham, owner of the ship on which he came over. Later he had lodgings for himself and brothers on Spruce St., near Third. Soon after, having decided to see the country, "they travelled on horseback to Pittsburg, equipt as Western traders with blankets and saddlebags." On their return they told Mr. Breck they managed very well along the road, taking care of themselves at the taverns and leaving their horses to be groomed by their servant, although Louis said: "We could have

managed very well without any servant, and took one entirely for the sake of the horses." They had a total absence of all pride or notion of superiority. Lewis F. Cass, author of "France, its King and its People," while ambassador to France wrote: "I have found in a French publication a letter dated Philadelphia, August 14, 1797, written by the Duc de Montpensier to his sister, in which he describes incidents and impressions of this journey. Having ascertained from the proper quarter that this letter is genuine I have thought an extract not unacceptable:

"I hope you received the letter which we wrote you from Pittsburg two months ago. We were then in the midst of a great journey that was finished fifteen days ago."

It is recorded elsewhere by Cass that they traveled from Pittsburgh to Niagara Falls on foot, thence to Canandaigua where they visited Thomas, the son of Robert Morris. It was from somewhere in this locality that they wrote again to their sister of their vicissitudes, the deep, almost unbroken forests, the heavy swamps and the swarms of tormenting mosquitoes. However they had known careful training especially in endurance.

Continuing their journey they traversed Seneca Lake and came to Newtown (now Elmira) where they stayed for ten days with Henry Towar, a Frenchman, who kept a public house. He fitted up a Durham boat in which they descended the Chemung to Tioga Point where they lodged with Dr. Hopkins, (who also entertained Talleyrand and other visitors). They then pursued their journey to Asylum and eventually on to Wilkes-Barré in 1797.

Some Wyoming historians state very positively that they were in Wilkes-Barré twice, going to Asylum and returning June, 1797, but there seems pretty positive evidence of the journey as I have related it. However, there is an extract from a sketch of the old Arndt tavern at Wilkes-Barré written by one who had opportunity to know.

"Among the guests here were three who arrived June, 1797. No ordinary persons for they had been born to the purple, princes of the great Orleans line. They were the Duke of Orleans afterward King of France and his two brothers whom the great and terrible Revolution had made fugitives."

"The visit of the Princes to Asylum was mainly to see and confer with Matthias Hollenback, he having been selected by Robert Morris to arrange for their permanent house in America should that become their fate. They visited Wilkes-Barré on the way up and also returned, coming in on the old Sullivan road, stopping here to rest."

(Elmira historians say Towar's boat carried them to Harrisburg, whence they went to Philadelphia.) They dined with Matthias Hollenback, and all who knew them were charmed. The step-

daughter of M. Hollenback often told of the visit—she said the future king was rather despondent and absorbed, Montpensier very affable and light hearted. He was dressed in a court suit of white satin, his cravet and ruffles being of the costliest lace, the envy of the ladies to whom he made himself exceedingly agreeable. At the table he was next the step-daughter who was in full dress and had a fine skin. Pointing to, or touching her arm he said in French, "Mademoiselle quel beau cuir!" This writer states that they proceeded to New York City and thence to England, where they rejoined their family. But we know this is incorrect, for Samuel Breck, who knew them well, says they returned to Philadelphia, and the letter quoted by Cass is further evidence. Breck says:

"On their return M. d'Orleans hired very humble lodgings in Fourth Street near Prime where I visited him and he did me the favor to trace the route they had just taken on a map that hung in his room."

Some effort was made at this time toward self support. It is recorded that Louis Philippe gave music lessons, painted a miniature of Miss Willing and was said to have asked her to marry him. He also taught French to a group of scholars. In the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, we found a large old engraving entitled "Louis Philippe Teaching School in Philadelphia." Grouped around the school room were many distinguished men of the day. The portrait reproduced here by the courtesy of the Historical Society is taken from that engraving, and by comparison with later portraits, no doubt is a genuine likeness.

In 1798 they made a longer journey, visiting the French colony of Gallipolis en route to New Orleans. It was on one or the other of these journeys that one of the younger princes was lost in a forest and found by an Indian. Going down the Mississippi, they visited Louisiana which then belonged to Spain.

The Chevalier de Carondelet, who commanded for the King of

Spain received them at New Orleans with all the honours due their rank. They were treated with great cordality, one of the richest men of the city, Poydras, loaning them money. Some historians say they returned to Europe from here by the way of Cuba and Spain, others that they went to England where Montpensier died of consumption soon after, and that Beaujolais also died soon after at Malta. Again we read they returned to France and all married princesses of rank. Robert Douglas, translator of Pontgibaud, says:

"After spending some time in America, they left for England where they lived on an allowance from the British Government until the Restoration." Pontgibaud says: "During their stay in the United States no one except the French knew them, saluted them or designated them but by the name of "Equality," (a name assumed by their father in the first stormy days of the Revolution.) To the Americans this appeared the most natural thing in the world. You would read in the newspapers that yesterday the Brothers Equality slept in such and such a place, or we hear from —— Town that the Brothers Equality have arrived there. When they visited Mount Vernon the negro who announced them to Washington said, 'Excellency! Excellency! there are three Equalities at the door.' "

The princes are said to have visited at Asylum for two weeks, and there were fêtes and great hunts in their honor. Talon had already left the colony, and doubtless the ensuing chaotic state led them to decide against locating there permanently. Probably, at this time and later, de Blâcons and his lady entertained the visitors of rank.

CHAPTER IV

Contemporary and Later Accounts of the Colony

"Gaul's exiled royalists, a pensive train,
Here raise the hut and till the rough domain.
The way-worn pilgrim to their fires receive,
Supply his wants; but at his tidings grieve;
Afflicting news! for ever on the wing,
A ruined country and a murdered King!
Peace to their lone retreats while sheltered here,
May these deep shades to them be doubly dear;
And Power's proud worshippers, wherever placed,
Who saw such grandeur ruined and defaced,
By deeds of virtue to themselves secure
Those inborn joys, that, spite of Kings, endure,
Though thrones and states from their foundations part;
The precious balsam of a blameless heart."

This description of the refugees is part of "The Foresters," a poem describing a Pedestrian Journey to the Falls of Niagara in the autumn of 1804 by Alexander Wilson, an ornithologist.

Short notices of the colony and colonists are occasionally found in old publications, issued in the early years of the nineteenth century and even earlier. In "Travels Through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada during the years 1795, 1796, 1797," written by an English teacher, Isaac Weld and printed by John Stockdale, Piccadilly, London, 1800, On page 534 may be found the following description:

"The whole way between Lochartzburg* and Wilkesbarre are settlements on each side of the river, at no great distance from each other. The principal one is Frenchtown, situated within a short distance of the Falls of Wyalusing on the western side of the river. This town was laid out at the expense of several philanthropic persons in Pennsylvania, who entered into a subscription for the purpose, as a place of retreat for the unfortunate emigrants who fled to America. The town contains about fifty log houses, and for the use of the inhabitants a considerable tract of land has been purchased adjoining to it, which has been divided into farms. The French settled here seem, however, to have no great inclination or ability to cultivate the earth, and the greater part of them have let their lands at a small yearly rent to Americans, and amuse themselves with driving deer, fishing and fowling; they live entirely to themselves; they hate the Americans, and the Americans in the neighborhood hate and accuse them of being an idle dissipated set. The manners of the two people are so very different that it is impossible they should ever agree."

In the Port Folio, Phila., of November 6, 1802, on page 364, Bulow, a Prussian military officer, in "Interesting Travels in America" 1796, thus describes Asylum, without visiting it as had been his evident intention:

"Higher up on the Eastern branch of the Susquehanna, French emigrants had formed a settlement which they called Asylum. I carefully inquired after the condition of this establishment; most of my informers

*Lochartzburg was a name applied to "Old Tioga Point," now Athens, in 1795.

assured me that it was already at an end. But I could not on this subject obtain a full certainty. Mr. Noailles and Mr. Talon were the founders of this little colony. They sold the land to the colonists. But the people say that clearing the land was by no means the talent of these French planters who understood much better giving concert balls and plays among themselves. Hunting was said also to be much to their taste; they profaned even the Sunday by their hunting parties, which especially in the eyes of the New Englanders whose neighbors they are (Asylum being situated not far from Wyoming) was an abomination. They were likewise for having fine houses all at once."

In Alexander Graydon's Memoirs, published at Harrisburg, 1811, he says, after speaking of the duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt:

"From this gentleman I turn to others of his nation whom he speaks of in his travels; and for whose acquaintance I was indebted to Major Adam Hoops, who I should have mentioned before, did me the honor to attach himself to my company in the capacity of a volunteer, during part of the campaign of 1776. A letter from him about the year 1790 or 1791 (must have been 1793) so far as my recollection serves, introduced me to M. Talon then engaged with the Viscount de Noailles in establishing a settlement on the north branch of the Susquehanna to which they gave the name of Assylum. In the course of this business he several times passed through Harrisburg, and never failed giving me an opportunity of seeing him. M. Talon fully justified to my conception the favorable idea that is given by Lord Chesterfield and others of a Frenchman of rank. I have seldom seen a gentleman with whose manners I was more pleased. Though he spoke but little English and I less French, yet from the knowledge we respectively had of each other's language, we contrived to make ourselves mutually understood. On one of his visits he was attended by ten or a dozen gentlemen, all adventurers in the new establishment from which they had just returned on their way to Philadelphia. Of these I only recollect the names of M. de Blâcons, Captain Keating and Captain Boileau. My broher and myself, who had waited on them at their inn, were kept to supper, and I have rarely passed a more agreeable evening. The refreshment of a good meal, coffee and wine, had put in motion the national vivacity, and the conversation, carried on in English, which many of the company spoke very well, was highly animated. Captain Keating was in fact an Irishman and Captain Boileau had served among the troops in this country. As to Mons. Blâcons, he was but a novice in the language, yet hurried away by a high flow of spirits, he ventured boldly in expatiating to me on a projected road from Asylum to Philadelphia, which according to him, required nothing but the consent of the legislature, to be completed out of hand. Talon, astonished at his volubility, exclaimed "ce n'est pas lui, c'est le vin que parle." (It is not him, it is the wine that talks.) The French Revolution being touched upon, it came into my head to ask Captain Boileau how it happened that he and the other gentlemen, who had served in America, and who must, of course, have been among the foremost in inculcating the doctrine of liberty in France, were now so entirely in the background? His answer was interrupted by a loud and general laugh; and Talon, who had probably been adverse to the revolution in all its stages and modifications (as he was the person on account of whose courteous reception general Washington had been roundly taken to task by the citizen Genet) enjoyed the thing so much that he thought it worthy of remembering and put me in mind of it long afterwards. The duke de la Rochefoucault gives some particulars of the Assylum settlement, humorously called by some of the settlers refugium peccatorium (the refuge of sinners). I have understood that the settlement is now entirely abandoned by the French, and I have been told by persons who have seen the tract, that one more rugged and mountainous, except the particular spot whereon the town stands, could hardly be found. In this it agrees with Talon's account of it, that the mountains were 'trop rapprochés,' (too near) thereby conveying the idea of a narrow strip of flat land along the river."

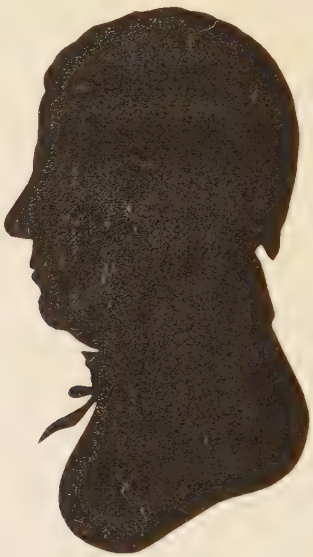
Thomas Twining, in his "Travels in America," Feb. 1796, mentions meeting at Mr. Bingham's in April, 1795, the Count de Noailles but gives no comments.

An Englishman, Mr. Wansey, was a resident of Philadelphia when the colony was at its height, and later removed to Bradford County. He writes, June 8, 1794, that he dined at William Bingham's with several celebrities, among them

"The famous Vicomte de Noailles, who so distinguished himself in the first Constitutional National Assembly, August 4th, 1789. He is now engaged in forming a settlement about sixty-five miles above Northumberland town. It is called 'Asylum' and stands on the eastern branch of the Susquehanna. His lady, the sister of Madam Lafayette, with his mother and grandmother, were guillotined without trial by that arch-villain Robespierre."

In 1824 Judge Stevens wrote for the Doylestown Gazette some account of Asylum and its exiles, his "information obtained partly from observation and partly from hearsay." His remarks have already been incorporated in various places in main narrative. Many of his statements, as also many made years later by Rev. David Craft, have been found to be inaccurate or absolutely untrue in the light of recent investigations. While the various records and receipts may be pieced together into a creditable, and absolutely authentic story; were it not for the printed accounts of those early travelers, very little after all would be known of Asylum; for the emigrés seem to have left no papers, the permanent settlers told little to their descendants, and very few letters have been found. The notable exceptions are Bartholomew Laporte, who imparted much to his son and grand-daughter which has been contradicted by the ignorant; and the d'Autremont family, whose traditions and letters are second only in value to the information obtained through the papers of John Keating and Matthias Hollenback; two wonderful men of business who seemingly never destroyed a scrap of paper.

The readjustments of the Asylum Company made necessary by the financial embarassments of its projectors, eventually gave rise to the report that the whole project was a gigantic swindling scheme, *which is certainly far from true.* Unfortunately the only account found in France is in the volume entitled "A French Volunteer in the War of the Revolution." Its author, "the Chevalier de Pontigibad, (says his translator) was one of the gallant little band of Frenchmen, who, sick for breathing and exploit, crossed the Atlantic to aid the American colonists to gain their independence. He seems to have been a shrewd observer of men and events, and had a keen sense of humor." However, these impressions of a youth barely out of his teens were not



Matthias Hollenbach

recorded until forty years later; and while he gives vivid pen pictures, allowance must be made for the inaccuracies of garrulous age. His comments concerning Asylum and its founders were from observations made during his third visit to America, to which he returned to receive his pay for dual service in the Revolutionary period. To the student of those times, there is much in his book of great interest, and we commend its reading to members of all patriotic societies. Concerning the French refugees and Asylum, he says:

"Alas, I met in the streets of Philadelphia plenty of great men brought down to the dust, men whose ambition had deceived them, fools punished for their folly, men of yesterday, who were no longer men of today, and parvenus astonished to find that Fortune's wheel had not stood still while they were uppermost."

"Duportail (French ex-Minister of War) told me the names of the French refugees who had found in Philadelphia an ark of safety like that of Noah.

The blowing up of the good ship, the French Monarchy, had been caused by their follies, and the explosion had thrown a good number over to the United States. But they were not corrected or disabused of their errors, and brought to a better state of mind, but each and all—Constitutionalist, Conventionalist, Thermidorians and Fructidorians—imagined that their political downfall had been brought about by some ill chance just as their plans were within an ace of succeeding. They kept their eyes fixed on France, to which they all expected to return sooner or later and recommence what each called his great work, for there were exactly the same number of political systems as there were refugees. You might have believed yourself in the Elysian Fields, 6th Book of Aeneid, where the shades still pursue the same ideas they had cherished in the other world.

But a man must live, and the most curious spectacle was to see these

Frenchmen, fallen from their former greatness, and now exercising some trade or profession. One day I entered a shop to buy some pens and paper and found the proprietor to be Moreau de St. Méry—one of the famous 'electors' of 1789.

A good many other personages besides 'the electors of 1789,' and who when in France had cut quite another figure, were to be found walking about the streets of Philadelphia, as the Vicomte de Noailles, Duc de L(iancourt) and M. S. (Talon) Volney, the Bishop of Autun, and 'tutti quanti.'

Some of them gambled on the Stock Exchange, and nearly always successfully. Others were not so fortunate, and their speculations were more risky; nor were they above laying traps for their countrymen who had newly arrived in America.

Senator Morris had conceived a vast and adventurous undertaking.

The celebrated Burke had written somewhere or other that Europe was about to totally collapse, and that North America was destined to receive the refugees and all the goods they were able to save. The Senator, in company with M. S. (Talon) and Vicomte de Noailles, speculated on this prophecy. They acquired more than a million acres, situated on the banks of the Susquehannah, and this land, divided into large or small lots, was advertised in the papers under the heading of "Good land to be sold." Nothing was said about residences—the purchaser was apparently to build his house to suit his own taste. To encourage their clients they also constructed in the city an immense building in which all the great personages they were expecting on the faith of Edmund Burke could be suitably lodged. The Pope, the Sacred College, a few dethroned Monarchs, and other notables, were to rest there till they had recovered from the effects of their sea voyage, and before making up their minds to purchase a slice of American territory.

It is literally true that this enterprising company had agents on the lookout for all emigrants who arrived from Europe. Their factotums kept a watchful eye on all newly-landed passengers, who appeared to have some baggage, and not only compassioned their misfortunes, but offered them the means of repairing their loss, by the purchase, in a new and hospitable land, of another estate of dimensions proportionate to the means of each newcomer. The price was reasonable enough, only six francs an acre—but the agent did not say that it had cost the Company he represented only fifteen cents an acre.

I knew a milliner who had made some money, and who purchased an estate at Asylum, the fictitious capital of this imaginary colony. The poor dupe went to inspect the estate she had bought the right to build on, cultivate, and live upon—and then she came back to Philadelphia to gain her living with her ten fingers as she had previously done.

One of these agents was ill-advised enough to apply to me, having heard I was a French emigré, possessing some money. He started at once with a long discourse on the principles of humanity which animated this enterprise, and then went on to boast—"All materials are at hand, and everything has been provided. There is a master builder paid by the Company. We have even a restaurant in order to spare trouble to our newly-arrived colonists." He strongly urged me to buy five hundred acres of this new Promised Land for the moderate sum of 1000 crowns. When he finished I told him that two hundred acres of that land would not support a cow, that there was not a store in the whole country, and that no meat was to be found unless you killed a deer. I added that as I had been all through the War of Independence, I knew all about the district he had been describing, and that his boasted philanthropic speculation was a mockery and a snare, and that the worst misfortune which could befall the French emigrés was to find themselves swindled by their own countrymen. I have never seen a man look more disconcerted than this unlucky agent did, but I should like to have seen the speculative triumvirate when their clumsy emissary rendered an account of his visit—I had the honor to be known by them.

Providence, however, did not permit the enterprise to succeed, and the three speculators came to a bad end. Senator Morris, crippled with

debts, died in prison; M. T(alon) went mad, and Vicomte de Noailles, after having won four or five hundred thousand francs on the Philadelphia Exchange, left for SanDomingo, where he was killed on board an English cruiser. He, at least, died like a brave man, as he had lived; that much praise is due to his memory, but that does not prevent me from relating a story concerning him which is a proof the more of the inconsistency displayed by some of our illustrious faiseurs during the Revolution. The incident occurred under my own eyes, and I laughed heartily at it, as everybody else did.

This ex-Vicomte had a deed drawn up at Philadelphia by one of the notaries of the city, and when it was read over to him, he perceived that he was mentioned therein by the name of M. de Noailles. He was exceedingly angry at this, and insisted that the deed should be re-written and none of his titles forgotten—Vicomte, Knight of Saint Louis, Knight of Malta, etc. The next day, the newspapers were impertinent enough to repeat—con licenza superiori—what had passed in the office, and all Philadelphia knew of the quarrel of the Vicomte with his notary. The story was accompanied with a note to this effect: "It is singular that a member of the Constitutional Assembly, who proposed the law of ci-divants—a French nobleman who, on the famous night of 4th August made a holacaust of the titles, deeds, armorial bearings, etc., of all the nobility, commencing with his own—should insist on these titles being applied to him in a land of political equality, where all distinctions are unknown."

Soon after its publication, the first edition of "Azilum" attracted the attention of one of the foremost noblemen of modern France, the present Vicomte de Noailles, grandson of the founder of Asylum. A copy having been sent to him, we take the liberty to quote from the letter prompted by reading the story:

"The book on Azylum has given me great pleasure, and occupies already an honorable place in my library. It is very well written and treats of a question totally unknown in France. The events of the Revolution did not permit contemporaries to occupy themselves with remote affairs, of a secondary nature compared with those of the metropolis. Later they did not think of them, so that I doubt if there were many men who knew of these efforts of colonization of which you speak with so much precision. I doubt if it entered into the idea of the founders to take thither the sorrowing members of the royal family, or even of the queen alone. But while that idea would have been strange from many points of view, it is possible that, in a generous burst of zeal, they had such an idea. I believe after what I have read of it, that you would do well to challenge the memoirs of Pontigibaud, ardent royalist, critical spirit and wagtail, given to making bon mots, and all that to the detriment of truth. He presents the enterprise in a doubtful light and known as a dishonest speculation to the injury of those recently landed. An enterprise costs dear to set going. That they sold for a certain price lands bought for less, and engaged the newly arrived to settle themselves in colonies are natural things which explain themselves, but which under the pen of a critic take another aspect. It would also seem that Vicomte de Noailles made a fortune in America. It was necessary to live and he set himself courageously at the task. His heirs received nothing of that which he may have had. I do not believe that you will find anything whatever in France on the founding of Asylum; I have never heard it mentioned. I regret that I could not have sent you a better engraving of the Vicomte de N. It is the only one known to me."

In conclusion the Vicomte graciously sent a work of his own which was awarded a prize by L'Academie Francaise. This book is entitled "French Sailors and Soldiers in America during the War of Independence of the United States."*

*The title speaks for itself, but in this year of 1917, we feel that it is of special value

A few years since a notable series of historical books were published in France from the hands of various writers. The object, in the light of modern research, was readable history that should be accurate, or as it was put: History, not Legend. The author of some of these delightful books, M. Joseph Turquan, of Paris, wishing to publish a volume on "The Women of the Emigration," applied to the author of "Azilum" for information. It was our pleasure to furnish some data and illustrations and also to direct M. Turquan to Charles d'Autremont, Jr., from whom he obtained letters and portraits, of which he made the best use. The portrait of Mme. d'Autremont adorns the cover of his second volume, and the plate of the Queen's House is included in the narrative with such other matter as was desirable. Mr. Turquan accepted the disputed fact that the colony was intended for a refuge for Marie Antoinette, and has written of the whole in a delightful manner, from which we quote in another chapter.

There are also various sketches of the colony published within the last quarter century of more or less value, and some interesting suggestions have been made by various writers, as for instance, that of Professor Harper of Princeton that the settlement at Asylum may have suggested to Coleridge and Southey their project of establishing a colony in America on the banks of the Susquehanna. True, Coleridge had met in London in September, 1794, a former schoolmate, who was agent for an American land company and praised the region of the Susquehanna. But, as Prof. Harper suggests, it is almost certain that they saw the following notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1795 quite enough to inflame their imagination:

"There is a colony established not far from the Susquehanna River, in America, by a class of wealthy Frenchmen, who formerly distinguished themselves in the Constituent Assembly of France, but were prudent enough to retire in time with their families and property; among these are Noailles, Talon, Blacon, Talleyrand, and others of the ci-devant Noblesse: they have relinquished their titles, and have domesticated here in the most social manner. Their little settlement is called French Town. The tavern is kept by an officer, who was formerly le Baron Beaulieu!"

It is needless to say that French Town and Asylum were one and the same.

and interest to all patriotic Americans. We are wont to elevate Lafayette to the pinnacle of honor, but it is high time, when again our hearts beat in unison with France, to study the lives of all those heroes who came to our assistance. We can not resist the desire to introduce here the sentiment of Washington, to whom at the close of the war, "the French officers of land and sea paid their court, going in small groups to visit him, and to fraternize with their American comrades." After one of their visits, Washington said to some of the others who came: "I have been very happy in the three days that I have spent with de Chastellux, de Noailles, de Damas and my old acquaintance Duplaessis. I find in these gentlemen all that commands my respect."

He further expressed his sentiments in several letters to Rochambeau on the withdrawal of the French army, from which we repeat the most telling sentence: "To the generous aid of your nation, and to the bravery of her troops, may be attributed in a very great degree, that independence for which we have fought, and which we have obtained after a severe conflict of more than seven years."

CHAPTER V

Biographies of Founders and Permanent Settlers at Asylum

So much has been gathered here and there concerning the most famous founders of Asylum, that it was decided to record the additional data here rather than in the main narrative. Even the best French biographical dictionaries have not done full justice to Talon, de Noailles or Dupetithouar. We have in addition the recorded sentiments of their American friends and of their descendants in some particulars.

Talon

Talon and John Keating were so intimate that much has been gleaned from the Keating journals and papers. Among these were found letters from M. de Sarennes, an old man, who had known the Talon family through several generations. While Omer was a name borne by the ancestors of the family who became celebrated for loyalty and patriotism in the time of Louis XIV, Antoine Omer was the son of John Talon (an advocate and disburser of public revenues) and of Maria Charlotte Radix. At sixteen years of age, he was accepted as an advocate and became Kings Advocate the following year, Counsellor of Inquiry in 1781 and Civil Lieutenant au Châtelet in 1789 with an apportionment of 100,000 francs. The situation of public affairs was grave. The first proceeding he was called upon to conduct was against the authors of the insurrection of October 5th, and the suit against Favras made him a depository of important secrets. Later he was denounced as an unjust judge by two prominent writers, who were sentenced to retract this libel publicly also to pay a fine of 1200 livres. Mirabeau became his bitter enemy, and indulged in brutal invective against him. We have already noted his devotion to the King and its consequences, but here is a new bit from Graydon, his Harrisburg acquaintance:

"This gentleman had apparently stood very high in the confidence of the King, as once when I dined with him at his lodgings, at the instance of a French lady present, who had observed I was unaffected with the regicide mania, he showed me a box studded with diamonds with the King's picture on the lid, that had been presented to him by his majesty, as the inscription imported. The affairs of France were not often touched upon by Mr. Talon, but it was impossible not to advert to them at times.

and he testified much concern for the death of the murdered Malesherbes, one of the counsel for the King, speaking of him as 'un gallant homme.' Talon was understood to have been in the law line himself, Avocat General under the old regime. If this was the fact, the office was apparently hereditary in his family through royal favor, as one of the same name is spoken of by Cardinal de Retz (of the Court of Louis XIV) in the following very honorable manner, and the more so from his being in the opposite party, and a foe to his seditious designs: 'Talon, Avocat Gènèral, made one of the finest speeches that ever has been made on a like subject, I never heard or read anything more eloquent. He mixt with his reasons whatever could serve to make them the more moving. He invoked the names of Henry the Great, and kneeling down, he called upon St. Louis to protect the Kingdom of France. You fancy perhaps you would have laughed at this spectacle, but it would have moved you as it did the whole company, upon whom it worked in such a manner that the clamor of the inquiries began to decrease by it." Graydon says that he records this incident "because it places in so aimiable a light the virtue of patriotism and the irresistible eloquence which may flow from that source."

To the reader of this volume it has a double interest, portraying not only the character of Talon's ancestors, but revealing to us, in this year of 1917, the true French spirit and eloquence borne in upon us by the glowing words of Viviani and Joffre who have come to America to renew the bond between the two countries, that was first sealed by Lafayette, de Noailles, Rochambeau and their associates.

Talon was a "large portly, fine looking man" when at Asylum. His portrait, as reproduced, was copied from a much defaced miniature on ivory, which represents him wrapped in a red toga. M. de Sarennes relates of his family that one of his sisters surpassed in beauty all the women of the several courts where her husband was sent as ambassador.

De Villaines, his brother-in-law, a distinguished French officer, was with Talon at Asylum for a time. M. de Sarennes says:

"Talon wished to form a colony in America and needed an estate and a convenient situation. It was necessary to make some explorations, and he had for company old comrades of his and of M. de Sarennes: Messre. d'Andelot and de Villaines; they were both great and stirring, and therefore equal to the task. About this time Talon became connected with de Noailles and de Blâcons. He entered by marriage the family of de Pestre, whose origin was Belgium. The head of the family was banker for the court of Austria. Through him, Talon became possessed of much property in Belgium. By his wife (by name Jeanne-Agnes Gabrielle, Countess of Pestre) he had two children, Denis-Mathieu Claire, b. 1783, d. 1853, and Zoe Victoire, b. 1785, m. 1802 Count de Cayla, d. 1852. On Talon's return to France, Mme. Talon had suffered and died. Talon begged his sister to take charge of his daughter. She was placed in the boarding school where all the nobility placed their children. Mme. de Villaines took me there with her to see a little play in which Hortense de Beauharnais, of the family of Napoleon First, had a role. Talon was not favored by Napoleon who, on a simple denunciation, sent him into exile in Provence; his son accompanied him and shared his captivity."— *Sarennes.*

His French biographer says:

"On his return from America he lived on one of his estates, Tournan, and being still master of a considerable fortune, he committed the folly of displaying a luxury, but little conformed to his position. It was discovered that he was the medium of a correspondence between the royal princes and their adherents in the interior; and being arrested in 1804, he was transported to the Isles of St. Marguerite and did not again obtain his liberty until 1807. The privatiens which he underwent during his captivity so enfeebled his mental powers, that henceforth he did but languish in a sort of premature senility."

Judge Stevens says:

"He was heard of after leaving Asylum as a banker in Germany, and since that, as a conspirator against the life of Bonaparte, he was banished, but afterwards obtained leave of the Emperor to visit his daughter in Paris, where he ended his days by natural death Aug. 18, 1811." His daughter, as the Countess de Cayla, became one of the celebrated women of France. Separated from her husband, after many vicissitudes, she finally devoted herself to her taste for agricultural improvements in her charming retreat at St. Ouen (where Louis XVIII had granted the charter of 1814) and it was there she died in 1852. Talon's son was a well known officer in the French army. We have never succeeding in communicating with his descendants, although an effort was made in 1872 through Marquis Emmanuel de Noailles, then French ambassador to this country.

De Noailles

Louis Marie, Vicomte de Noailles, doubtless the originator of the Asylum plan, had such an illustrious career, that it is here given in full as an inspiration to the youth of today. It has been said of his ancestry, " they were for four hundred years the proudest family of France outside of royalty." The ancestral home was the Hotel de Noailles in Paris. Today the Rue de Rivoli runs through the site of the gardens, when Lafayette a mere school boy, played with the de Noailles children; to one of whom he lost his heart, and to whom he was married while they were still children, he sixteen and Adrienne fourteen. There are many reasons why American women today should be interested in the name *de Noailles*, for the wife of Lafayette was known in later life as "the loyal uncompromising champion of American liberty." When she was only eighteen, Lafayette, stationed at Metz, heard of the struggles of our colonies and stayed not on the order of his going to even say farewell. The woman of 1917 parting with her loved one may well remember the "untold anguish" of Madame de Lafayette during the fifty-six-day voyage that brought Lafayette first to America, and during the ensuing campaigns when news traveled so slowly that she first heard he was wounded in the streets of Paris.

Possibly it was in this ancestral home that Louis de Noailles was born, April, 1756, for it was in Paris. He was the second son of Phillipe de Noailles, Marèchal of France, and Duke de Mouchy. His mother, Mlle. d'Arpajon was first lady of honor to Marie Antoinette, by reason of her rank. From his youth up he followed the profession of arms, and was remarkable for the knowledge which he speedily acquired of everything pertaining to military tactics. He organized several regiments of which he was successively the head; and in the instruction of both officers and soldiers, he attained a degree of perfection unsurpassed at that time, and was considered one of the best colonels of his period. Intimate with both Lafayette and de Segur, they were one in forming the project of starting for America; but their parents, having discovered their plans, endeavored to prevent them because of their youth, for they were all about twenty years old. It has been said that Lafayette *alone* had will and independence enough, thanks to his fortune, "to carry out what was really his own generous project." That may be; but when Admiral d'Estaing, who headed the first expedition, sent to

assist the revolted provinces in 1778, proceeded from American shores to the French possessions in the Antilles, he found de Noailles already on the Island of Trinity, his zeal having carried him there from France in advance of the fleet. d'Estaing wrote that when he first saw him he thought it was an illusion. But no, the clever young colonel was ready with news of all the movements of the French and English and awaited orders! de Noailles was very active throughout the whole Antilles campaign, accounts of which may be found in the most interesting volume written by his grandson of the sailors and soldiers of France in America.

His clever manouvers with considerable bodies of troops, attracted the attention even of the enemy, who could not dislodge him. He was praised again and again for his ability, activity and courage, won the cross of St. Louis and the rank of brigadier general. "Such is the love of M. de Noailles for war, for his profession, that it pleases me to foresee and I dare to predict that he will go to the highest limit." So spoke his superior officer to the Minister of War.

Noailles began service under the name of the *Chevalier d'Arpajon,* rose through successive ranks to be Colonel-General of the regiment of Soissonais, and after having made the campaign of the Antilles, he returned to America with the army of Rochambeau. Then he was only twenty-four years old. "He made with this rank the expedition of America" and several times had chief command of the work on the trenches before Yorktown. Washington many times praised his intelligence and courage (recorded in histories and biographies) and finally honored him by entrusting him, in connection with other French officers, with arranging the terms of capitulation and surrender of Cornwallis, signed at Moore House. Returning to France, he was at once appointed mestre de camp, and lieutenant commander of the regiment of the King's dragoons. At this time he was described as "possessing a handsome figure and fine physique, young active, enterprising, of remarkable bravery, chivalrous, a soldier in his very heart, a lover of glory, a patriot in every sense of the word." From the Recollections of Samuel Breck, an American whose life was spent in Boston, Philadelphia and France, where his father was in intimate touch with all the French notables, we have some personal reminiscences that add much to the interest of our narrative. He says: "Most distinctly do I recollect his coming to Boston to embark for France after Yorktown, and his answer to my childish question about the fate of Cornwallis after the surrender, saying

he had carried him off behind him on horseback. His form was perfect, a fine face, tall, graceful, possessed of very pleasing manners, he was a general favorite in court circles. He was known as the first amateur dancer of the age in Paris, and at the court balls he was frequently the partner of Queen Marie Antoinette." It is easily seen that this personal intimacy, and the devotion of his parents as well, made the young officer ever loyal to the Royal family, in spite of the fact that he had conceived in America so great an enthusiasm for liberty and equality that, on re-entering France, he took up with eagerness the cause of the French people. This chapter of his life is excellently well told at length in Michaude's and Hoeffer's Biographies, and in these days well worth the reading, proving that Lafayette had too great a share of honors. It has been said:

"De Noailles returned to France imbued with the ideas of liberty and very enthusiastic in the American cause in imitation of his brother-in-law Lafayette, but, between the two men there appeared a curious divergence; Noailles at the beginning of the revolutionary era, accepted the new idea as the result of an inevitable progress. He followed the movement which he thought impossible to stop, and resigned himself to it. Lafayette, on the contrary, believed in the necessity of the movement, lent to it all the strength of his influence, but lived in the illusion of better times, and was left behind by the march of events."—de Noailles, 1903.

De Noailles and his parents were at the Queen's side in time of danger whenever possible, and he tried to keep the King posted, and carried to him the news of the fall of the Bastile. In the attack of the mob at the time of the "Joyous Entry," the Queen suddenly found herself separated from her escort; but at the door of her carriage were de Noailles and the Duc d'Aguillon ready to protect her at the peril of their lives. De Noailles took her in his arms and aided by Aguillon, carried her to a place of safety. Yet these were the two men who stood for the abolishment of feudal rights, bringing odium on themselves from the wealthier nobles.

Balch says of him at this period: "It was the gallant nobleman de Noailles, who, from a pure love of liberty and equality moved in the National Assembly the abrogation of titles and hereditary nobility."

We have neglected to record that de Noailles married (date unknown) his cousin Louise, daughter of the Duke de Noailles and sister of Madame Lafayette. They had several children, one of the sons, Count Alexis, and a daughter who married the Marquis de Verac surviving him. We give for this epoch the story of his life as well told by his sister-in-law, in her interesting memoirs entitled *Anne Paul-Dominique de Noailles, Marquise de Montagu,*

published by the Duke de Noailles at Paris, 1868, also extracts from Balch, copied from her Memoirs:

"The Viscount de Noailles, considered one of the best officers of his time, who had followed LaFayette, his brother-in-law, to America during the War of Independence; who much smitten with the ideas of 1789, had sat in the Constitutional Assembly beside Maury, Barnave and Mirabeau; who, in the famous night of the 4th of August, taking the initiative of the three propositions, indespensable basis of the great reforms, then in every mind, the equal distribution of all taxation among all Frenchmen, the abolition by purchase of feudal right, and the abolition without purchase of the corvées and personal servitude, had given the signal for the enthusiasm with which in that same sitting the nobility and the clergy despoiled themselves so generously and so patriotically of their rights and privileges. "Thou," said Chateaubriand, "who criest out today against the nobility, forget it was de Noailles, the feudal deputy, who moved to abolish feudal rights. As the old France owed its glory to the feudal nobility, so the New France oweth its liberty, *if there is liberty for France.*"

"This same Viscount de Noailles was none the less an emigré, like *the others.*"

"When war was declared in April, 1792, he commanded under Lafayette a brigade in the advance guard during the first invasion of Belgium, and he found himself surrounded in the flight of the troops, which took place with the cry of 'Treachery!' and amid which General Theobald Dillon was massacred, and he himself was obliged to seek a refuge beyond the frontier, where he was immediately declared an emigré and proscribed.

"He went first to England, then to America, where he entered with success into the commercial operations of the house of Bingham, and lived in Philadelphia ten years. Toward the close of 1800 Madame de Montagu succeeded in having his name struck off the list of emigres. He was also reinstated in military rank, for he wrote to his son Alexis: "I have not yet received confirmation of rank of active brigadier general, which position I have filled for eight months. I desire that my commission bears the date of the capture of Fort Dauphin." His return to France was retarded by a long lawsuit, where he argued his case himself in English before the American courts. So well did he speak that language, of which we will see the importance to him later, that he won his suit, amid universal applause. But the ensuing obligations forced him to go to Saint Domingo, where our possessions had fallen into the power of the negroes, and which the French army was trying to reconquer. This was in 1803.

"He found this army destroyed by yellow fever, and its remains attacked on one side by the negroes, on the other by the British squadrons. Rochambeau was in command. Noailles devotedly put himself at the disposition of his old comrade in arms, and, amongst other deeds, helped materially in the capture of Fort Dauphin.

"Rochambeau gave him command of the Mole Saint Nicholas, whose garrison, reduced to eighteen hundred men, was besieged by twenty thousand blacks and a British squadron. He defended himself there for five months. But Rochambeau was at length forced to surrender with his negroes. He was going to retire with his troops on neutral vessels, but the English fleet surrounded these ships, forced them to surrender, and prepared to take them to Europe. The commander of the squadron which was blockading Mole Saint Nicholas informed General de Noailles of these events, asking him to cease a useless resistance.

"'A French general,' he answered, 'cannot surrender without shame as long as he has supplies, ammunition and devoted soldiers. France, like England, has fleets on the ocean. I will wait.'

"This answer hid his intrepid project of escaping with his entire force

from the hostile fleets. Informed that the convoy which took with it the ships of Rochambeau was to pass three days later before the Mole during the night, he prepared his men, and on seven ships which were in the ports, mounted his soldiers, his cannon, his ammunition, with some inhabitants of the Mole and waited in silence the passing of the convoy.

"When the ships' lights appeared the order for departure was given, and during a dark night seven ships, profiting by the confusion of the passage and deceiving a blockading squadron joined the convoy. Noailles led, and speaking English perfectly, answered himself all the hails from the nearer ships. Little by little he drew away with his ships, and spread all sail at dawn, and although the English then discovered what had happened, and sailed after him, he reached successfuly, with his seven ships, Baracoa, a port in the Island of Cuba. He landed there the inhabitants of the Mole, as well as his troops, of whom he sent some back to France and kept the others, intending to lead them to Havana, where General Lafayette was in command.

"He chartered for this purpose three small vessels, got as escort the war schooner the 'Courrier,' and sailed himself on this schooner, which was only armed with four guns, with his staff and a company of grenadiers of the 34th half brigade. Four days afterwards, on the 31st of December, 1803, off the Great Nuevita, he met at dusk an English corvette, the 'Hazard,' of seven guns, which hailed him. He hastened to raise the English colors, and answered in such good English that the commander of the corvette informed him that he was in search of a French boat carrying General de Noailles. 'I have precisely the same mission,' he answered and began to sail with the corvette. Then when the night became dark, he proposed to his soldiers to board the English vessel. The proposal being received with delight, Lieutenant Deshayes, who was commanding the 'Courrier,' sailed it so as to bring it all of a sudden alongside the corvette. The shock was so violent that the stem of the 'Courrier' was broken. The English, surprised, rushed to arms; but de Noailles dashed with his grenadiers on to their deck and after a terrible combat, the corvette, which had lost half its crew, surrendered.

"Unfortunately, at the end of the battle, an enemy's bullet struck the heroic descendant of a race of warriors, of whom he had showed himself so worthy; and on the morrow, on board of his prize, but mortally wounded, and towing the 'Courrier,' half broken to pieces, he entered gloriously Havana."

He survived this triumph, alas! only six days. Rochambeau wrote in his Memoirs:

"He was attacked by an English vessel which he boarded with the intrepedity natural to him, supported by his brave grenadiers. He was mortally wounded, and died a few days afterward in the arms of his troops and of the Spaniards who bestowed upon him all the regrets and esteem with which his courage had inspired them."

His death occurred January 5, 1804. He was buried at Havana. But his heart was enclosed in a silver box by his devoted grenadiers who fastened it to their standard and brought it back to France, whose portals the valiant Frenchman had wished that glory might reopen to him. For a long time that heart was deposited in the church of Poix (Somme), but now is actually in that of de Noailles (Correze) by the side of the old tombs of the family. His brilliant feat of arms at the Mole was painted by Guden

in one of his best pictures, de Noailles portrayed as the heroic descendant of a race of warriors.

Yet there was another side of this hero, and many pages of his life never pictured for France until very recent years. So we will retrace our steps and consider the valiant soldier as a peaceful citizen of Philadelphia for ten or eleven years, weaving together the narratives of Breck, Balch and others who knew him or knew of him, without crediting the quotations to each.

He had secured, before coming, a small fragment of his fortune, when the Revolution made a wreck of every one's property, with which in Philadelphia, he became a trader and a speculator. Some of the time, however, he was quite poor. For awhile he boarded with the Rev. William Marshall of the Scotch Presbyterian church on the north side of Walnut street above Fourth. Again he lived in the third story of a small house in the rear of William Bingham's stately mansion, on a lot extending from Third to Fourth streets opposite St. Mary's church. Entrance to this house was from Bingham's court off Spruce street below Fourth. City Directory of 1795 gives Louis de Noailles, French General, south side of Spruce St., 118, near Delaware. Breck tells of passing his lodgings in 1793 when de Noailles, standing at the door, called to him and told him to flee the town as pestilence (yellow fever) was all around. While he went to Asylum for a week or two at this time, evidently he withstood the plague and ministered unto others.

De Noailles was always upon terms of familiar friendship with Breck's family and also with some others in America. For it was recently related to the author that when his descendants visited America on the centennial of Yorktown, some military trappings were given to them that de Noailles had presented to an American family when returning to France after Yorktown, their only heirlooms of this heroic ancestor. Socially he was a favorite in society because of his rank, his reputation as a soldier, and for his attractive personality.

But it was as a business man that he attracted most attention. "It was necessary for him to live and he set himself bravely at the task." Breck says:

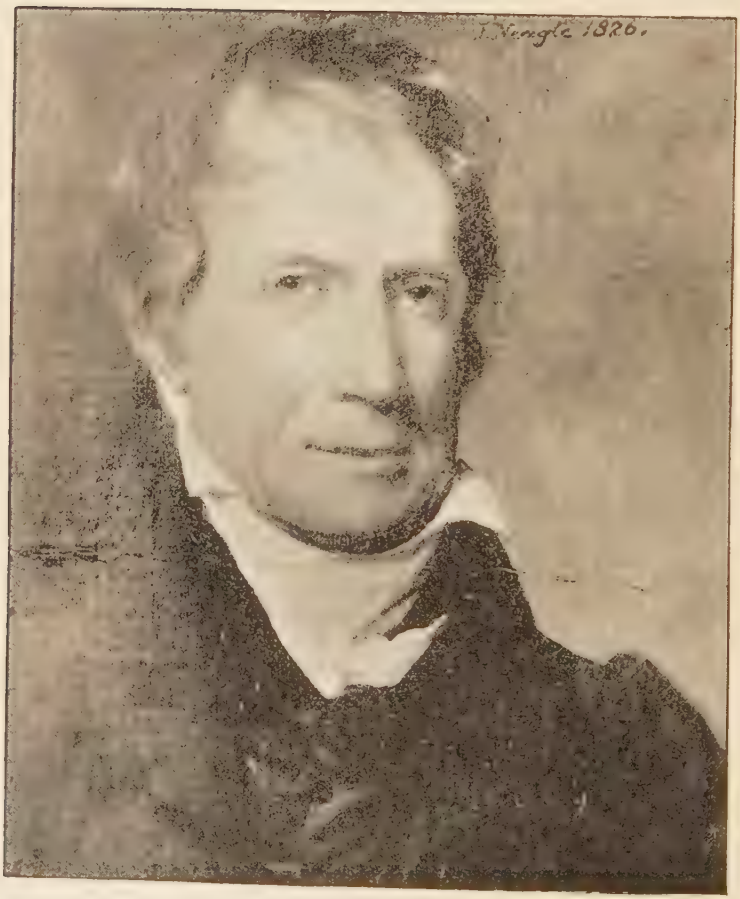
"Poor Noailles danced rarely in Philadelphia, but he sometimes showed us his graceful steps. On one occasion when teaching the Misses Bingham lofty capers, he sprained his ankle and became lame ever after."

"It was amusing to see the spirit with which he embraced his new avocation, so foreign from the pursuits of his former life, whether considered as a military man or a courtier. Every day at the coffee house or exchange, where the merchants met, that ex-nobleman was the busiest.

of the busy, holding his bank-book in one hand and a broker or merchant with the other, while he drove his bargains as earnestly as any regular bred son of a counting house."

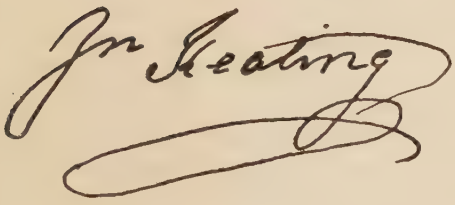
It is said he was admitted to the bar, but diligent search reveals no such record, nor the one mentioned by Pontgibaud as being recorded in a newspaper of 1793. Publication of newspapers was suspended during the yellow fever epidemic. There are preserved in Philadelphia and elsewhere a few letters relating entirely to business.

Perhaps the excitement of speculation was a panacea for his sorrows, for in 1794 his wife was accused of being connected with a conspiracy and was guillotined, as were also his father and mother. Madame Lafayette was saved by the intervention of an American woman, wife of our ambassador to France, James Monroe. In 1796 a letter to his bankers mentions that he was leaving town for some months, but we have no other record of his journey. While Pontgibaud treats him lightly, Keating, who knew him well, said that his whole life was distinguished by integrity, honor, refined manners and unaffected piety. Surely this man deserves to be remembered by America with a statue or some fitting memorial.



John Keating

Keating



came of an Irish family originally of English extraction. Henry, the first of the name in the family record, lived within the so-called English Pale in the Fourteenth century. His descendants were summoned to Parliament as barons of the realm and suffered on account of their religion first during the reign of Elizabeth, and again at the hands of Cromwell, by whom they were deprived of their possessions. James Keating, a second son in the line of decent, who lived in the Fifteenth century, was Grand Prior of the Order of Malta and one of the thirteen Brothers of St. George, an English Order of Chivalry instituted in aid of the House of York during the wars of the Roses. Geoffrey Keating, who lived in the Sixteenth century, was the well-known historian of Ireland. Another Geoffrey was captain in the Irish army at the battle of Aughrim and siege of Limerick in 1691, and after the capitulation, crossed to France with his regiment, which then took the name of the Queen's Regiment and formed part of the celebrated Irish Brigade, serving under Catinat in Italy in the wars of Louis XIV. He then returned to Ireland whence his son Valentine emigrated to France in 1766 to escape persecution due to the oppressive laws of England against Catholics. Upon his arrival at St. Germain, letters patent of nobility were granted Valentine by Louis XV in recognition of his rank in Ireland.

John, the son of Valentine, and tenth in descent from the original Henry, was one of five brothers, four of whom entered the French service, and were officers in the regiment Walsh-Serrant of the Irish Brigade. The batallion to which John and two of his brothers belonged was sent to Martinique in 1780 under Ct. de Guichen. Thomas, the eldest, took part in three engagements with Admiral Rodney, and John, in the capture of Tabago. Thomas subsequently rose to the rank of major-general, commanding an army corps in Belgium, which saw active service under the French Republic. He was imprisoned by Robespierre, and died from the effects of his ill treatment. Both he and his brother William were awarded the cross of St. Louis for meritorious services. Thomas was subsequently, in 1792, upon recommendation of King Louis

XVI admitted, in company with other French officers, to the order of Cincinnati, presumably on account of his participation in the campaign in America. While in Martinique in 1781, John took part in a secret expedition destined, as it was supposed, for the United States, but while on their way up the coast, they were met by a sloop of war sent by Ct. de Grasse to inform them of the surrender of Cornwallis, whereupon the course was changed and the fleet headed for the island of St. Eustacius, which had just been captured by the English from the Dutch. This they stormed with brilliant success, against great odds, capturing the commander and his entire force.

The regiment returned to France in 1783, was sent to the island of Mauritius in 1788, and again visiting Martinique on its way home, (where John was presented to the future Empress Josephine) was finally ordered to San Domingo in 1792, and there John was placed in temporary command. There being then but little prospect of the restoration of the Bourbons, he resigned his commission and came to this country, having previously been honored with the military decoration in recognition of his services. His journal, already quoted, recounts his arrival in Philadelphia with but $280 in his pocket, and provided with two letters, one from the civil government of San Domingo to the French Consul at Philadelphia, and the other from General Rochambeau, then Military Governor of San Domingo, to General Washington. It also relates his subsequent connection with Asylum.* After the abandonment of that colony he became associated with de Noailles in another land transaction which furnishes an incident of some little interest. His brother William was living with his family in the Isle of France, and viewing the situation in the French dependencies as precarious owing to the French Revolution, determined to send his eldest son Jerome, then a child, over to John for his education, and also to remit funds for investment not only for the better securing of the same, but to provide alike for his son's future welfare. De Noailles told John Keating that his friend, Mr. Nicholson, former Controller General of Pennsylvania, had an agent in Mauritius who had power to draw upon him, and Nicholson on being consulted promised to honor any drafts that might be drawn upon him in this way. Accordingly William Keating purchased a draft of $2,163.00 but neglected for some reason

*Very recently a box of old letter books of John Keating has been discovered. One of these shows that he acted as agent for Asylum lands for ten years, when he put in a claim for unpaid salary. He owned many shares until 1820, but, like Hollenback never had a satisfactory settlement. There are frequent letters to Laporte to whom he gave power of attorney, although he visited Asylum in 1819, making thence a three week journey exploring lands.

or other to inform John Keating of it or to forward it to him for collection. In the meantime Nicholson who was interested in large speculations with Robert Morris found himself in financial difficulties and when the draft was presented was unable to meet it though promising to do so. He had business relations with de Noailles, however, who had advanced him money, and it was arranged between them that Noailles was to increase his advance to him, to assume the Keating draft and accept in payment either certain lands in Tennessee or shares of the Asylum Company at his option. Nicholson and Morris at this time were in such straits that they were obliged to shut themselves off from their creditors by occupying a little house on the Schuylkill River. Hither John Keating journeyed almost every day in arranging all the particulars of the transaction. Noailles decided in favor of the Tennessee lands and gave Keating his personal bond in exchange for the draft. He also engaged Keating to go to Tennessee to record the deeds, look up the title, examine the lands and acquaint himself with the situation generally. For this service Keating was to receive 2600 acres of the land, or eight shares of the Asylum Company if it was substituted for the land, and his expenses. Keating says that he started from Philadelphia September 11th, 1797, and was back in Philadelphia in November, having accomplished the mission entirely on horseback in fifty-four days to the entire satisfaction of de Noailles. Noailles having paid something on account of the bond, met with financial trouble and sought every pretext to delay payment but finally paid it off in full. He subsequently sold the land in Tennessee without notice to Keating and left for San Domingo without giving him his share or answering his letters, or even offering to repay him his expenses, which he says amounted approximately to $200; this amount including his own personal expenses and those of his servant and the keep of two horses. He never saw de Noailles again. He takes pains to say in his diary that he freely forgave him, though he thinks it would have been more honorable for him to have frankly explained his condition. He feels sure, however, that it would have been a pleasure for Noailles to have satisfied his debt, as he was most generous and did not care for money for the sake of the money itself. Subsequently, when Messrs. Talon and Gernon made a large purchase of some 300,000 acres of land in northern Pennsylvania, known as the Ceres Company, the management on behalf of a syndicate of foreigners devolved upon him and lasted throughout his life.

John Keating was then in the full bloom of vigorous manhood. The aim of the company in settling this land was the pursuit of agriculture, hence the chosen name of the old Goddess Ceres for the company. It was through Francis King, an estimable man and hardy pioneer, that the first locations were made and settlements begun. Mr. King had first settled at Asylum, but being doubtful about a permanent title, went further into the wilderness at the request of John Keating. The English yeomen who followed Mr. King set the pace for their posterity, and the French, Irish and German colonists who came later, peopling the new land which they developed, were in strong contrast with the immigrants of today, who crowd our cities in a shiftless search for employment instead of planting themselves on the soil to reap the rich fruits of patient and industrious tillage. A number of the settlers were those who abandoned Asylum. Keating made periodical trips to the "lands" as they were called, continuing his visits until he was ninety years old and he could travel by railroad. The first journeys involved weeks of laborious travel, cut off almost entirely from the world, and attended by privations and dangers. They were made on horseback, and often the bare ground was the only available resting place. John Keating visited the settlers and took a personal interest in all the developing enterprises of the country, churches, schools, roads, etc. It was during one of these long absences that his beloved wife died, and had been buried a month when he returned. Her name is perpetuated in Eulalia Chapel at Coudersport. Some towns were named for the managing agents in Amsterdam. Sometimes he brought home a bottle of "Seneca oil," which the Indians gathered by spreading their blankets on the surface of the stream now called Oil Creek. Little did he suspect the untold millions which lay hidden under the Ceres lands. With the dawn of the new century, with all eyes riveted on the future, it is not without a certain pleasure and interest that we occasionally pause and view in retrospect the work of those who prepared the way, and whose footprints were the first to make impression on the land.

In a history of Ceres a descendant of Francis King says of John Keating: "He endured privations as became a soldier, no longer a soldier but a most benevolent Christian gentleman,

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Author's Note—It was possibly some of these Ceres lands whose title was held by Talon's heirs for many years; for we have in our possession at the hands of J. Percy Keating, a most interesting deed, executed in Paris, at the Consulate of the United States of America, in 1828 on the occasion of the last visit to France of John Keating. The deed is of a property in Clearfield County, Pennsylvania, from the son and daughter of Omer Talon to John Keating. This daughter was Victorine Talon, then the Countess du Cayla, a celebrated woman of France. Among many distinguished witnesses we note the signature of Louis d'Autremont, who returned to France with Talleyrand.

whom it was an honor and privilege to know, and whom it was impossible not to trust.''

Shortly after dissolving his connection with Asylum, John Keating married at Washington, December 11, 1797, Eulalia Deschapelles, the daughter of Alexander Britton Deschapelles, a prominent planter from San Domingo, of noble French lineage, and took up his residence in Wilmington, Delaware. After his wife's death he returned to Philadelphia, where he resided during the balance of his life. He died at the age of ninety-six, being for some time the last survivor of the officers of the French service during the French pre-revolutionary period. By the death of his eldest brother, Geoffrey, the title of Baron devolved upon him, though, being then an American citizen, he did not, of course, assume it. He was associated with many institutions of philanthropy and charity in Philadelphia, and as his portrait indicates, was of imposing stature and possessed all the courtly bearing of a French gentleman of the old school. He was devoted to his church and to the memories of the monarchy in France.

The present head of the family has in his possession, besides other interesting relics, portraits of Geoffrey and his wife (a Quin, whose father was the progenitor of the present Earl of Dunraven) clad in gorgeous robes of crimson velvet, the letters patent of nobility granted to Valentine by Louis XVI, the cross of St. Louis awarded to General Thomas Keating, a portrait of Marie Antoinette* said to have been presented to John Keating by the Duc de Berri, and a miniature of Talon presented by himself. (Copies to be found in this volume.)

John's oldest son, John Julius, married Elizabeth Hopkinson, a granddaughter of Francis Hopkinson, the signer, and died early. His widow subsequently married William Biddle, brother of Nicholas Biddle, the financier, and lived to an advanced age. She knew all the great statesmen of the ante-war period, visited the White House as the guest of John Quincy Adams, travelled extensively abroad and was possessed of a most interesting personality. Her memoirs would have been most entertaining.

John's second son, William H., was one of Philadelphia's foremost citizens some seventy years ago. While a member of the legal profession he early devoted himself to scientific pursuits. He accompanied Long in his pioneer exploration of the Yellowstone, and

*A copy of this portrait is the frontispiece of this volume, reproduced by the courtesy of the owner, J. Percy Keating. The family tradition, doubtless true, is that it once hung in the royal palace, and was presented to John Keating on the occasion of one of his visits to France by Duc de Berri, a nephew of Louis XVI.

wrote the history of the expedition; was Professor of Chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania; was also one of the projectors of the Pennsylvania and Reading Railroad Company, and in company with Frederick Fraley and others, founded the Franklin Institute. His brother and he were members of the State Legislature at the same time, and his activities exended in many and various directions. He married Elizabeth, daughter of J. Eric Bollman, a man of great prominence in his day, who enjoyed the intimacy of Lafayette and Madame de Stael, and took active part in many popular movements having for their object the extension of the great principles laid down in our Declaration of Independence. John Keating's grandson, the son of his daughter Eulalia, (who married her cousin of the name) was the late William V. Keating, M. D., who attained high rank in his profession, and was Surgeon-in-Chief of the Broad and Cherry Street Hospital, Philadelphia, during the war, besides holding many positions of honor and trust. And finally John Keating's great grandson, the late John M. Keating, M. D., who followed in his father's footsteps and enjoyed a wide popularity as a physician, was a voluminous writer and editor of medical works, which have attained a world-wide circulation.

J. P. K.

I. *John Keating*, b. in Ireland, Sept. 20, 1760, d. May 19, 1856; m. Eulalia Deschapelles.

Children:

2 John Julius, b. Sept. 16, 1798, d. .. 1824.

3 *William H*, b. Aug. 11, 1799.

4 *Eulalia*, b. Sept. 24, 1801, d. .. 1873.

II. John[2] J., m. 1824 Elizabeth Hopkinson. No children.

III. *William*[2] *H.*, m. Elizabeth Bollman.

Child:

5 Ellen E., b .. 1840.

IV. Eulalia[2], m. Aug. 12, 1818, Jerome Keating (cousin).

Children:

6 *Amelia* b. .. 1820, d .. 1886.

7 *William N.*, b. .. 1823, d. .. 1894.

8 *Mary*, b. .. 1833, d. .. 1864.

VI. *Amelia* Keating[3], m. 1837, Peter Bauduy.

Child:

IX. *Jerome*[4] *K.*, b. .. m. Caroline Bankhead.

Children:

10 William K.

11 Elizabeth.
12 Caroline R.
13 Mary.
14 Louis.
15 Jerome.

VII. *William*[3] *V.*, m. .. 1851, Susan La Roche.
Children:
16 *John M.*, b. .. 1852, d .. 1893.
17 J. Percy, b. .. 1855, m. .. 1883 Catherine E. Dixon.
18 *Eulalia*, b .. 1856.
19 *Susan L.*, b. .. 1858.
20 Mary, b. .. 1864, m. .. 1898 Mason Lisle.
21 Sophie B., b .. 1866.

XVI. *John*[4] *M.*, m. .. 1877 Edith McCall.
Children:
22 Edith, b. .. 1878.
23 Elizabeth, b. .. 1880.
24 Margaret, b. .. 1882.
25 Peter McC., b. .. 1884.

XVIII. *Eulalia*[4], m. .. 1879, Mason Campbell.
Child:
26 Virginia, b.. 1881, m. .. 1902 John S. Newbold.

XIX. *Susan*[4] *L.*, m. .. 1884 Lindley Johnson.
Children:
27 Lindley, b. .. 1885.
28 Keating, b. .. 1887.
29 Marion, b. .. 1889.
30 Susan, b. .. 1890.

VIII. *Mary* Keating[3], m. .. 1852 Jas. M. Willcox.
Children:
31 William J., b. .. 1856, m. April, 1883 Mary Cavender, d. 1893.
Children: Dorothy, d., John Keating, Harold, Eulalia m. Dr. Oliver Perry Pepper.
32 Eulilia[4], b., ..1859, m. R. W. Lesley, had Eulalia[5], b. 1880.
33 Mary, b. .. 1860.
34 James M., b. .. 1862, m. .. Louise Lindsley Reed.

D'autremont

Hubert d'Autremont was a Parisian royalist, evidently belonging to a family of importance, as evinced both by his coat of arms and his intimacy with such prominent Frenchmen as Talleyrand; Dupont, a distinguished French writer and statesman, who was one of the commissioners in the Louisiana purchase; and Baron Neuville, a bitter royalist. Hubert is said to have been guillotined early in the Revolution.

His widow, Marie Jeane d'Ohet, from a family of wealth and position, with her three sons, Louis Paul, aet. twenty-two, Alexander Hubert, aet. sixteen, and Auguste Francois Cecil, aet nine, left France in 1792, their royalist principles making life uncertain there. In company with the family of her sister Madame Lefevre, and some others, they came to America and settled on the Chenango, on lands previously contracted for in France from William W. Morris, through his agent, Charles F. Bué Boulogne. They arrived

evidently in the late summer of 1792, as an act of sale was made out by Boulogne in Philadelphia, Sept. 1792. In October, 1793, the oldest son on his way to Philadelphia stopped at Asylum, doubtless to see Boulogne. He was one of the first twenty-three visitors to Asylum and was in search of a better location than the one on the Chenango. It was he who carried back to the Chenango an account of the proposed town that later attracted thither a number of his associates with his mother's family.

The power of attorney under which Boulogne acted in making their contracts was lost in Paris, and, having never been recorded, after the death of Morris and Boulogne, the lands were lost, or sold for a trivial sum on account of supposed poor title, though it was finally held good. (See Wendall Common Law reports, N. Y., p. 82, vol. 7).

A recital of the case, drawn up in French in 1805 by Louis Paul d'Autremont, then in Paris, is still in existence.*

(Original in French)

*Recital of the case which is to be begun against William W. Morris to reclaim 6,000 acres of land or thereabouts situated on the Chenango River, Montgomery Co., New York.

M. Charles Felix De Boulogne sold at Paris in 1792 lands under two different titles.

1st under power of attorney of M. M. Malachi Treat and William M. Morris, proprietors of a certain quantity of lands upon the Chenango River.
to Madame d'Autremont & to W. Brevost,

2nd as proprietor of a part of these same lands which he had purchased from said Treat and Morris the

16th of June, 1791	
to M. Duvernet	1600
Bourneville	800
Silvestre	1600
Marguerite	800

Contract passed before Wagner
Notary Public at New York
in presence of James Thompson
Constable

At the time of the arrival of a part of the families in Philadelphia in 1792 the act of this sale as well as fonde de pouvoir of Messrs. Treat & Morris was made by Boulogne to Madame d'Autremont, Leferve and Brevost before Peter Lohra, notary at Philadelphia, in the beginning of September, 1792.

As to the articles of sale which regarded M. Duvernet and others, coacquerems, it does not appear that they were made before a Notary before the 7th of December, 1794, and always before the aforesaid Peter Lohra, Notary at Philadelphia. M. Duvernet declares that the articles were placed in the band at Philadelphia near the close of 1794. It is probable that this delay took place in order that the stipulation of lands might be made in a precise manner, and when the survey which was made the following year should nave been finished. The 24th of September, 1792, we find a copy of the articles of sale of 15360 acres made to Boulogne by M. M. Morris & Treat, that is to say that M. M. Treat and Morris comprehended in a single article of sale not only the 600 acres of land which they had sold in 1791, but also the 9360 which they had directed Boulogne to sell in France. The articles of sale realized upon our passage to New York, when we went to take possession of our lands included a definite quittance of the total price of the sale. We ought then to believe ourselves secure from all pursuit growing out of the facts of the first sale to Boulogne. Nevertheless upon the death of the latter, which took place in 1795, or 1796, upon the Susquehanna, M. Morris swore that he had never received anything from the sale of lands (illegible word) all the purchasers who had bought by virtue of the powers given by himself and Treat to Boulogne, as well as the purchasers who had bought directly of Boulogne. These same purchasers by separating the titles above mentiond, that is to say

M. Duvernet
Silvestre
Marguerite
Bourneville
} Members of the institute.

demand that measures should be taken in order that they may enter into possession of their lands, which have to day a great value, being situated in a rich, healthy and inhabited country.

d'AUTREMONT.

Their situation from the first was not a pleasant one, and it was not long before Mme. d'Autremont decided to join her countrymen at Asylum, as did the Prevosts and Lefevres.*

In 1795, when Talleyrand visited Asylum, Louis Paul d'Autremont returned with him to France as his secretary. Judge Stevens said of him that he could speak the English language and was among the handsomest and most active men of his time, a statement borne out by the portrait here reproduced.

D'Autremont remained in France until his death in the forties with the exception of a visit of many months to America in 1836. He married in Paris and had one child, a daughter. There are still d'Autremonts in Paris, cousins of Hubert's descendants, active patriots, being a soldier and army nurses (two women). He was a man of considerable ability, an ardent speculator in wild lands in America, whither his heart ever turned with as much love and longing for his family, and as much admiration for America (even the wilderness) as the French generally had for their own country. His letters to his mother, many of which are still in existence, are marvels of love and veneration, and his solicitude for her welfare and that of his brothers, stands apparently first in his mind. He made repeated efforts to secure for them a comfortable estate, which for some time he fancied might also be an asylum for himself. The affairs of France led him to Americanize his name into Dauthrimonth, as he writes:

"I must tell you that in order to avoid anything disagreeable I pass for a Canadian, here, have been naturalized as an American, and have changed a little the architecture of my name."

After the true French fashion he tried to arrange marriages for his brothers, even at such a distance. At one time it was a family going from France to the Chenango lands with whom he hoped

*In reality, hearing of their distressed condition, Talon sent a Durham boat up the river to convey them to Asylum.

Auguste would make an alliance, again a young daughter of Madame Prevost, whom he knew at Asylum, adding:

"If she suits him, and if on his side he pleases her, I think, good mama, the affair had better be terminated. Marriage will do a great deal for Auguste, he is a fine looking boy, young and vivacious, and that is all that is necessary to be a good husband and father."

Again he writes:

"The affairs of Europe are becoming such, that if we had the misfortune to be defeated, there would be no other resource than to return again to those vast forests where one hears the Iroquois."

When Talon left Asylum, or a little later Mme. d'Autremont and her two sons returned to the Chenango tract, and lived on Butternut Creek near Pittsfield. Here they remained until 1806, when by the advice, and with the assistance of her son in Paris, she purchased land at Angelica, N. Y., where she lived and died, and where some of her descendants have lived ever since. She gave the name of "the Retreat" to her purchase. She had for friends Frenchmen of influence, among whom was the ancestor of the well known DuPont family of Delaware.

Previous to this last removal, Alexander, desperate at their failure to obtain title to Chenango land, followed the treacherous Boulogne to the West Indies, hoping to compel him to make restitution. Ill luck, however, pursued him, the vessel was shipwrecked, he reached land with difficulty, being impeded with the weight of a money belt belonging to a fellow passenger. He then had yellow fever and was very glad to return alive, without even seeing Boulogne.

With the advice and constant assistance of Louis Paul, he engaged in farming and became prosperous, as did also his brother Auguste, though Auguste had for awhile a great desire either to return to France or to be a sailor. However, he went to Wilmington and entered into business under the DuPonts. He remained in Delaware for several years, removing thence to Hume, N. Y.

Both of these men, as well as their mother, desired to return to France as much as Louis Paul did to America. But in time, doubtless influenced by their brother's letters, they resigned themselves to remaining here, though Auguste once paid a visit to his mother country. We regret that we cannot give space to all of the fascinating letters of Louis Paul, teeming always with good advice to the younger brothers, and sometimes showing an amusing ignorance of Yankee ways.

Alexander had no sooner settled permanently than he wished to build a distillery for the manufacture of whiskey. Louis Paul thought a saw mill, flour mill or the manufacture of saltpeter

wiser, and seemed to be somewhat concerned about "wiske" drinking. He writes:

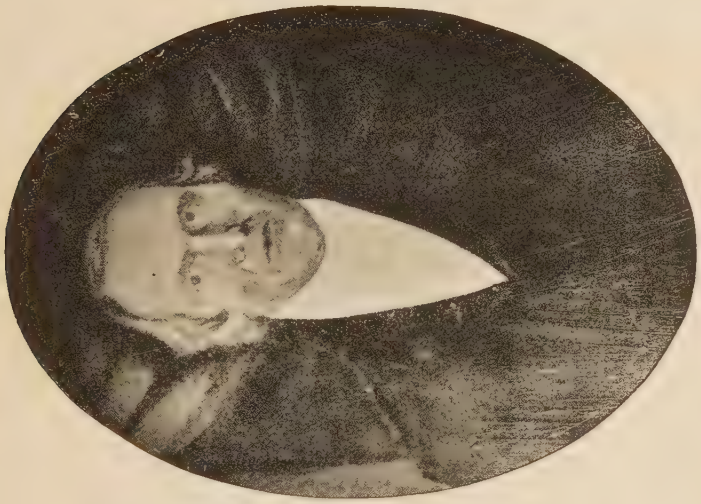
"Above all, dear mama, see that Alexander does not make use of wiske the first year. I am told that the use of this newly distilled liquor will give one epileptic attacks."

Mme. d'Autremont was probably born at Étampes, as the d'Ohet estate is situated there. She possessed a house at Dampière, which may have been where she resided with her husband.

Like a true French woman she was very fond of dress, and even in her log house in the wilderness, she made her toilette several times a day, always donning full dress in the evening. Turquan, the French historian, was much impressed with this account and records her in his work as "a marvellous type of a woman" under the reign of Louis XVI showing that she had lived in luxury with no other occupation than to dress, undress and dress again, to chat or "jabber" in their "salons." Speaking of the imperious necessities of life in the woods at Asylum, he says that possessing those qualities Mme. d'Autremont, even among her cows and her fowls, lived like a great lady as had her ancestresses of the Middle Ages. We are able to reproduce her portrait.

She preserved many interesting letters, papers and some portraits, most of which were destroyed by fire some twenty or more years ago. There still exist, however, numerous letters from her son and his wife, her father's will, a list of the articles she brought from France, and her carefully itemized personal accounts. Most of these papers are now in the possession of a daughter of Auguste, residing at Hume, N. Y., where he lived and died. Though Louis Paul was a resident of Asylum for but a short time, that he was actively concerned in affairs of the colony is shown by various papers bearing his bold signature, always d'Autremont, thus showing him to be the head of the family. Judge Stevens says:

"He could speak the English language, and was amongst the handsomest and most active men of his time."



Alexander d'Autremont

Augustin d'Autremont

I. Hubert d'Autremont, m. Feb. 3, 1770, Marie Jeane d'Ohet, b. 1745.

Children, born in France:

2 *Louis Paul*, b. Nov. 7, 1770, d. 184—in Paris, no male issue.
3 *Alexandre Hubert*, b. March 12, 1776, d. April 4, 1857.
4 *Auguste Francois Cecil*, b. June 7, 1783, d. Jan. 28, 1860.

III. Alexander[2] H, m. 1798 Abigail Dodge, dau. Maj. Dodge.

Children:

5 *Adeline*, b. July 12, 1800.
6 *Amelia D.*, b. April 28, 1803, d. Jan. 13, 1876.
7 *Louis P.*, b. Jan. 28, 1805.
8 *Victor D.*, b. Aug. 16, 1807.
9 *Caroline*, b. Dec. 8, 1809.
10 *Janet*, b. Nov. 30, 1814.
11 *Charles*, b. June 26, 1818, d. March 3, 1891.
12 Alexander, b. April 2, 1821.
13 Virginia, b. July 30, 1824.
14 *Sophia*, b. Aug. 3, 1829, d. Oct. 17, 1894.

V. Adeline[3] d'Autremont, m. 1826 Ithamar Smith of Lyme, Conn.

Children:

15 *Janet*, b. Feb. 9, 1827.
16 Emily, b. Sept. 15, 1828.
17 *Amanda A.*, b. July 26, 1830.
18 *John C.*, b. Nov. 3, 1833.
19 Alexander D., b. Dec. 25, 1835.
20 *Harriet A.*, b. Jan. 10, 1837.
21 *Caroline B.*, b. Oct. 2, 1839.
22 *Abigail D.*, b. Oct. 4, 1831, m. Jan. 5, 1882, Dr. Randall Reed.

XV. *Janet*[4] Smith, m. Charles Horton.

Children:

23 Elizabeth Amelia.
24 Charles Frederick.

XVII. Amanda[4] A. Smith, m. Llewellyn Budd, m. James Lancy.

XVIII. *John*[4] C. Smith, m. Rebecca Van Hoasen, no issue; m. 1860 Emma F. Lockwood.

Child:

25 John.

XX. Harriet[4] A. Smith, m. July 15, 1876, Isaac W. Fassett.
28 Frederick, b. Feb. 9, 1879.

XXI. Caroline[4] B. Smith, m. Augustus Balthasar.
Children:
29 Frederica.
30 Harriet A.
31 Charles A.

VI. *Amelia*[3] D. d'Autremont, m. Hugh Magee.
Children:
32 Margaret.
33 John.
34 Henry.
35 Sarah.
36 Amelia.
37 Abigail.
38 Jane.
39 Angelica Church[4], m. Daniel Beach.

VII. *Louis*[3] P. d'Autremont, m. Oct. 12, 1826, Hannah Magee.
Children:
40 Abigail A., b. Dec. 24, 1827, d. 1899.
41 James P., b. Oct. 10, 1830, d. Oct., 1895.
42 Margaret C. b. July 1, 1833.
43 Mary C., b. Aug. 8, 1835.
44 Louis A., b. March 2, 1838.
45 Hannah, b. May 23, 1840, d. July 27, 1842.
46 Victor B., b. April 23, 1843, d. March 9, 1878.
47 Charles J., b. March 28, 1845.
48 Francis, b. Aug. 24, 1849.

VIII. *Victor*[3] D. d'Autremont, m. Isabella Common.
Children:
49 Victor.
50 Sophia.
51 John.
52 Abigail.
53 Belle.

IX. *Caroline*[3], m. Charles Brundage.
Descendants live near Bath, N. Y. Have no further information.

X. Janet[3] d'Autremont, m. Ephraim Smith.
Descendants live at Wellsville, N. Y.

XI. *Charles*[3] d'Autremont, m. 1850 Sarah Collins, b. Nov. 19, 1822.

Children:

54 *Charles Jr.*, b. June 2, 1851, living at Duluth, Minn.

55 Mary, b. Oct. 16, 1854.

XIV. *Charles*[4] d'Autremont, Jr., m. April 21, 1880 at Elmira, Hattie Hart.

Children:

56 Antoinette, b. July 10, 1881.

57 Louis Paul, b. Aug. 23, 1883.

58 Charles Maurice, b. Aug. 6, 1887.

59 Hubert Hart, b. Feb. 19, 1889.

60 Marie Genevieve, b. March 9, 1892.

XII. *Alexander*[3] d'Autremont, m. Diana Howard. Descendants live near Angelica, N. Y.

XIV. *Sophia*[3] C. d'Autremont, m. Feb. 6, 1849, Lucien P. Wetherby.

Children:

61 John K., b. May 15, 1851.

62 Harris V., b. Jan. 18, 1857.

63 Clarence L, b. March 17, 1861, d. 1879.

IV. *Auguste*[2] Francois Cecil, b. June 7, 1785, in Paris, d. Jan. 28, 1860, m. at Brandywine, Del., July 15, 1861, Sarah A. Stewart, b. Sept. 10, 1794, d. Sept. 4, 1840.

Children:

64 Matilda, b. June 1, 1817, d. Dec. 31, 1884.

65 *Josephine*, b. Jan. 31, 1820, d. May 7, 1901.

66 *Augustus Jr.*, b. Feb. 29, 1822, d. March 29, 1889.

67 Mary H., b. July 27, 1824, d. July 8, 1836.

68 Francois P., d. Sept. 12, 1847, in Mexico.

69 *Caroline E.*, b. April 27, 1827, d. June 29, 1877.

70 Victorine, b. June 7, 1830, d. July 24, 1836.

71 Evelina E., b. April 17, 1833.

72 *Andrine Sarah*,

73 Clodine,

b. Dec. 16, 1835.

d. July 18, 1836.

LXV. *Josephine*[3], m. Oct. 15, 1846, Harden P. Mather.

Children:

74 *Charles Augustus*, b. Sept. 29, 1847.

75 *Walter D.*, b. Jan. 29, 1851.

76 *Theodore J.*, b. Aug. 3, 1853.

LXVI. *Augustus*[3] Jr., m. Feb. 14, 1854, Adeline Mather, m. Jan. 4, 1863, Mary A. Hubbard.

Children by Adeline Mather:

77 Frank, b. July 11, 1855, d. March 11, 1873.
78 *George W.*, b. Nov. 3, 1856.
79 *Julia E.*, b. April 3, 1859.
80 *Lucian*, b. March 12, 1861.

Children by Mary A. Hubbard:

81 Addie, b. July 2, 1864, d. Sept. 25, 1889.
82 *Carrie*, b. July 2, 1870.

LXIX. *Caroline*, m. June 22, 1858, Ralph Taylor.

Children:

83 *Mary A.*, b. Jan. 29, 18—.
84 Carrie E., b. Nov. 29, 1862, d.
85 Alfred, b. July 6, 1869.

LXXII. *Andrine*[3] *S.*, m. April 19, 1869, S. A. Farman.

Child:

86 Henry, b. April 26, 1871.

LXXIII. Mary[4] A. Taylor, m. Nov. 10, 1878, Frank Clark.

Child:

87 Ada.

LXXXV. Alfred Taylor, m.

Children:

88
89

LXXIV. Charles A. Mathew, m. Dec. 18, 1882, Carrie Corbin.

Children:

90 Henry.
91 Josephine.

LXXV. *Walter*[4] D. Mather, m. Nov. 28, 1876, Sarah Moore, d. no children; m. Emma.

Children:

92 Charles.
93 Ralph.

LXXVII. *Theodore*[4] P. Mather, m. Nov. 23, 1879, Mary Beardslee.

Children:

94 Charles.
95 Elizabeth.

LXXVIII. *George*[4] W. d'Autremont, m. 1878, M. Ayers, m. 1894, Jennie Skiff.

Child by M. Ayers:

96 Charles, b. Oct. 21, 1880, d. June 19, 1891.

Child by J. Skiff:

97 Georgie O., b. Aug. 5, 1900.

LXXIX. Julia E[4]. d'Autremont, m. Aug. 31, 1878, Will Colburn, m. Fred Stone.

Children by Will Colburn:

98 Gracie, b. Oct. 31, 1879, m. James Wallace.

99 Ray.

Child by Fred Stone:

100 Meta V., b. Feb. 14, 1902.

LXXX. *Lucian*[4] d'Autremont, m. Sept. 4, 1888, Lizzie Clark.

Children:

101 Roy A., b. May 24, 1889.

92 Louis F., b. July 22, 1891.

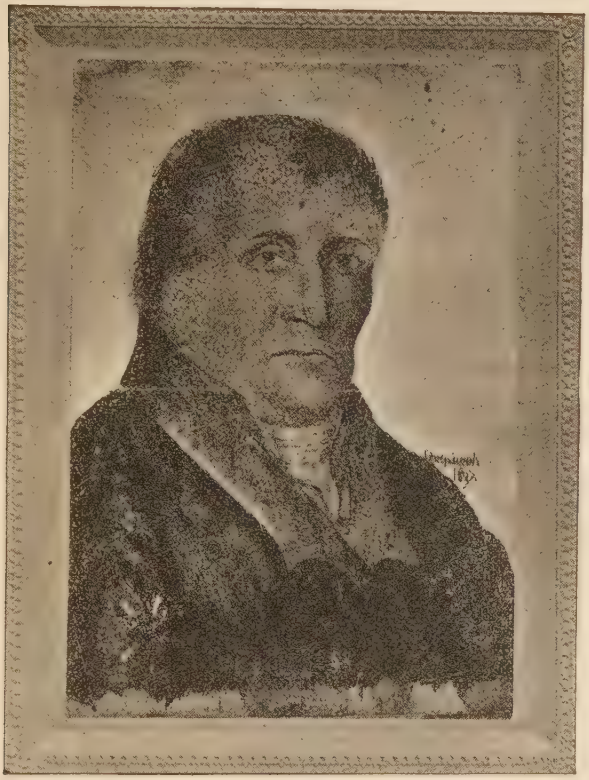
103 Addison M., b. May 4, 1895.

94 Mildred, b. Aug. 31, 1899.

LXXXII. Carrie[4], m. Sept. 4, 1888, George Clark.

Child:

105 Henry, b. Feb. 2, 1891.



Anthony Lefevre

Lefevre

Antoine Bartolemy L. Lefevre was born in Paris, 1750. His wife was Marie Genevieve d'Ohet, born in 1750, probably at Étampes, a town near Paris, as the d'Ohet family still have an estate there. Antoine, or Anthony as he is now known, was an architect in stone and master builder. He was also proprietor of a café, to which many prominent royalists resorted in the early days of the French Revolution. He therefore soon fell under suspicion, and thought it wise to leave France. In company with

Mme. d'Autremont (his wife's sister), John Brevost and some others in 1792 he sailed from Havre in the ship *Hanna*, Captain Steborn. He had four children (disputed), but under regulations then in force he could only take part of his family with him, therefore passports were made out for one son and one daughter. Before the vessel sailed the son died, whereupon the youngest daughter, disguised in her brother's clothing, was passed under his name, and accompanied her father; the wife and son following them soon.

This party settled on the Chenango River at or near Butternuts. But their surroundings were not pleasant, far from supplies and with Indians very near. To fill the measure of their troubles the title by which they held their land proved worthless. They determined to join their countrymen at Asylum, and removed thither in 1794. M. Lefevre secured one of the Loyal Sock tracts, just where cannot be ascertained, but his daughter said it was in an unbroken wilderness, inhabited chiefly by bears and wolves. There in a log hut without windows or doors, guarded by two dogs, this whilom keeper of a fashionable French café undertook to make a clearing himself and thus secure a farm and livelihood for his family. It is not surprising that even French enthusiasm soon cooled under such circumstances, and that the pioneer returned to the settlement. It has been erroneously said of him that he was licensed to keep the first inn in Asylum in August, 1794. Judge Stevens says this "first license was granted to *Louis* Lefevre, who afterwards removed to Philadelphia, became insane and drowned himself in the Schuylkill river." These two names, Antoine and Louis, are found in the lists of taxables with different spelling of the surnames, and in one of the old accounts kept by Talon "Lefevre" is entered as a servant. Antoine must have been a man of education as is shown by his fine penmanship. After Asylum was abandoned, he purchased a property across the river from it, where he lived with his family throughout his life. He and his wife are buried in the cemetery at Wyalusing.

The will of Antoine Lefevre, written by himself in 1827, is an interesting instrument. In particular the list of articles brought from France, *i. e.*, "four large silver spoons, six small ones, one complete copper still, with all its implements, three copper pans, one large copper pan with two iron handles, a bureau with a marble top, two complete beds and beddings of the best and one pair of sheets brought from Paris in France." One of these copper pans was offered to the writer a few years since by Mr. Lewis

Biles, who gave at the same time a copper candlestick (now in museum at Athens) which he had bought at a sale of effects of Mrs. John Huff, née Lefevre, and which she had often told him came from France. (Reproduced in forepart of volume with other relics of Asylum.)

I. *Antoine* B. L. Lefevre, m. Marie G. d'Ohet, b. 1750, d. 1834.
Children:
2. Alexander, b. d. 1814.
3 *Cecelia A.*, b. May 13, 1785, d. May 8, 1876.
4 Augustine E., b. July, 1787, m. 1811, J. Huff, d. May 16, 1879.

III. *Cecelia*[2] A., m. 1815, John Antoine Prevost.
Children:
4 *Edward*, b. Dec. 1 ,1817, d. Feb. 22, 1900.
5 *Angelique M.*, b. Oct. 16, 1819.
6 Theophilus, b. 1824, d. 1882.

John Antoine Prevost, husband of Cecelia Lefevre, was born in Paris, Sept. 23, 1777, d. April 30, 1868. In May, 1800, he sailed from *Rochelle for* America. Several years later he made the acquaintance of Alexander d'Autremont, and was induced by him to visit Asylum, where he met and married his wife. He is often confounded with John Brevost, one of the original settlers at Asylum. M. Prevost (according to some of his descendants) sailed from *Havre*, having staged from Paris, 420 miles. He was seventy days at sea, he could not speak English and was easily persuaded to settle at Nantucket, the home of the captain of sailing vessel, where he remained four years. Having learned the language, he then went to Wilmington, having letters to the DuPonts. Through their influence he removed to Angelica, where he met the d'Autremonts. After his marriage he lived for a time in Philadelphia, but returned to Russell Hill in 1825. In Paris he was a florist, and he never lost his taste for cultivating rare and beautiful plants, which were the wonder and admiration of his country neighbors.

IV. Edward[3] Prevost, m. Sept. 28, 1842, Elizabeth Stark.
Children:
7 *Cecelia*, b. Dec. 7, 1843.
8 Byron J, b. Dec. 31, 1845, d. May 27, 1863.
9 *Henry Clay*, b. Sept. 10, 1847.
10 Wallace William, b. Feb. 10, 1850.
11 *Mary E.*, b. Oct. 15, 1852, d. July 2, 1886.
12 Vernet E.,
13 *Victor J.*, } b. Jan. 3, 1857, d. Sept. 10, 1889.

15 *Lester S.*, b. Dec. 13, 1863.

14 Angelique F., b. Nov. 26, 1861, m. March 19, 1887, Dexter W. Stark.

16 Clarence W., b. Jan. 30, 1866, m. Nov. 24, 1901, Sue Tisch.

VII. *Cecelia*[4], m. Dec. 6, 1871, Daniel H. Walter.

Children:

17 *Carrie E.*, b. March 23, 1873, Daniel H. Walter.

18 Mildred A., b. March 23, 1877.

19 Otta F., b. May 8, 1880, m. July 31, 1901, Frank French.

20 Roy P., b. Dec. 7, 1882.

XVII. *Carrie E.*,[5] m. Nov. 6, 1895, Charles Robinson.

Children:

21 Mildred, b. Sept. 23, 1896.

22 Roland, b. Aug. 6, 1902.

IX. *Henry C.*,[4] m. Dec. 9, 1877, Ida M. Young.

Children:

23 Dexter C., b. Sept. 23, 1878, m. May 23, 1902, Elizabeth Wilbur.

24 Harry E., b. June 3, 1881.

25 Tracy H., b. Aug. 25, 1883.

XI. *Mary E.*[4], m. Dec. 3, 1876, Dexter W. Stark.

Children:

26 Lee P., b. May 11, 1882.

27 Fannie E., b. Jan. 2, 1885.

XIII. *Victor I.*,[4] m. Jan. 29, 1885, Carrie Haver.

Children:

28 Edna E., b. Aug. 20, 1885.

29 Mary E., b. July 21, 1887.

30 Victor E., b. July 20, 1895.

31 Winifred, b. Dec. 24, 1900.

XV. *Lester*[4] *S.*, m. Oct. 2, 1889, Ida Savacol.

Children:

32 Blanche, b. April 9, 1891.

33 Angelique, b. May 2, 1892.

34 Edward, b. March 23, 1894.

V. *Angelique*[3] M., m. Jan. 18, 1842, William Mix.

Children:

35 John W., b. Dec. 16, 1842, m. Dec. 18, 1867, Belle Spalding.

36 *Mary E.*, b. Aug. 26, 1845.

XXXVI. *Mary E.*,[4] m. Oct. 16, 1872, Mahlon Spalding.

Child:

37 William M., b. Feb. 15, 1876.

Laporte

Bartholomew Laporte was born in Tulle, now in the province of Correze in France 1758.

"In 1776 he emigrated to Spain and settled at Cadiz, where through the same spirit of enterprise that led him thither, he in the space of a few years, as a wine merchant, accumulated a handsome fortune. But, by a decree of the Spanish Government, banishing from within its limits all French subjects, and confiscating their property, his effects among others were seized and himself banished from the country."

At a French seaport, supposed to be Marseilles, he encountered Talon, as has already been told, and came with him to Asylum, though he differed in political sentiment from the other exiles, being a republican. In company with one Hêraud, it is recorded that he was engaged in the mercantile business as early as May, 1794. To his shop some time after came an English girl, Elizabeth Franklin, daughter of John Franklin, (*not Col. John*) who had settled at Asylum soon after his arrival in this country. Laporte was so enamored that he sought her in marriage, though over twenty years her senior. They were married at Asylum, presumably in the little log chapel.

Always the trusted land steward of Talon, when the French abandoned Asylum, Laporte purchased a large tract of land, including Talon's house, on his own terms. His son John said of him: "Talon put him in charge of much of the work, he was in fact relied on by Talon as one to attend to all outside work, and when Talon returned to France, he sold to my father on his own terms the farm of 400 acres which he paid for by installments," adding later, seventy-eight acres more in the upper part of original survey, and eventually, according to deed records at Towanda, he had 1000 acres deeded to him by trustees of Asylum Company. They were described in groups of sixteen lots in the original town plot, each sixteen making a square, 227-242, 284-299, 341-356, 378-413.

Bartholomew is said to have owned three lots, *i.e.*, a settlement lot, a flatiron lot, so-called, and the lot on which the house stood; he was also agent for the unsold lands and July 3, 1881, was granted power of attorney by the Trustees of the Asylum Company to lease any of the French holdings for one year. He maintained a store in his house until near the time of his death. He was visited at Asylum by his brother John, a sailor, who has been sometimes confounded with him. At Bartholomew's death a friend wrote of him in the National Intelligencer (Washington):

"The writer was frequently the recipient of his well-known hospitality, and the auditor of his social and animated conversation, in short, intimately acquainted with him and his many amiable traits of character. He had one son, John, whom before his death, the Father had the proud satisfaction of seeing elected and re-elected to a seat in the highest and most dignified deliberative body in the United States or the world—the Congress of the United States."

John La Porte was elected auditor in 1822, served in state legislature five years, being speaker of the house one year. After two terms in Congress he was appointed associate judge in 1840, and surveyor-general of the state in 1845. In 1839 he built the large house still standing just south of the house of Talon. Though this property has passed out of the family, some of his descendants still live on the site of the French town, and gave the land on which in 1916 the memorial boulder was erected. Bartholomew Sr. and his wife and son are buried in a little family plot plainly visible from the river, on a slight elevation back of the old home. There are in the family today articles of wearing apparel brought by him from Cadiz.

The county seat of Sullivan county is named Laporte, after Judge John Laporte; it is not far from Dushore.

I. *Bartholomew* Laporte, born in France 1758, d. Feb. 11, 1836, m. Dec. 11, 1797, Elizabeth Franklin, (born in England).

Child:

II. *John*, b. Nov. 4, 1798, d. Aug. 22, 1862, m. Feb. 28, 1822, Matilda, daughter Jabez Chamberlain, and Irene Gilbert, d. Aug. 5, 1838; m. Nov. 28, 1840, Eliza Bendle (second wife).

Child:

Matilda Jane, b. Oct. 24, 1841, m. .., d. .., 1871.

Children by Matilda Chamberlain:

3. *Bartholomew*, b. Jan. 5, 1823, d. Sept. 15, 1889.

4 *Elizabeth*, b. Nov. 24, 1825, d. Jan. 21, 1885.

5 *Samuel* McKean, b. Feb. 25, 1832, d. April 14, 1896.

III. *Bartholomew*,[3] m. July 31, 1835, Emily Terry.

Children:

6 *George B.*, b. Feb. 14, 1846.

7 John W., b. July 25, 1856, d. Feb. 6, 1886.

8 *Nancy M.*, b. May 14, 1859, d. Feb. 18, 1896.

VI. *George*[4] *B.*, m. Jan. 17, 1877, Amanda Piatt, d. Sept. 10, 1903.

Children:

9 Emily G., b. Nov. 25, 1877, m. Oct. 2, 1901, J. G. Kerrick.

Child:

Eleanor R., b. Aug. 6, 1908.

10 Nellie M., b. Sept. 14, 1879.
11 Edith J., b. Oct. 24, 1881, d. July 23, 1898.

VIII. *Nancy*[3] *M.*, m. 1889, Sidney Bovingdon.
Children:
12 John Laporte, b. June 29, 1890.
13 George Terry, b. Jan. 23, 1893.
14 Paul B., b. March 20, 1894.
15 Nancy E., b. Jan. 23, 1896.

IV. *Elizabeth*[3], m. at Asylum, Nov. 27, 1843, Charles F. Welles.
Children:
16 *Frederick Laporte.*
17 *Eleanor H.*, m. A. H. McClintock, decd.
18 John C.
19 *Louise S.*, m. Millard P. Murray (author of this volume).
20 Robert H., d. Feb. 12, 1903.
21 Elizabeth Franklin, decd.
22 Henry Fuller, d.
23 Mary, d. April, 1868.
24 Jessie.
Grand-children:
25 Katherine Louise Welles, d.
26 George T. Welles.

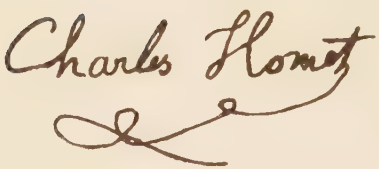
27 Andrew T. McClintock.
28 Gilbert S. McClintock.

29 Jessie Welles Murray.
30 Elsie Murray.
31 Louise Elizabeth Murray.

V. *S. McKean*[3], m. Sept. 1864, Sarah Wright Corey.
Children:
32 Samuel McK., b. Sept. 27, 1865, m. 1896, Addie Hubbell.
33 *Eliza*, b. Jan. 10, 1869.
34 William C., b. April 14, 1871, m. Feb. 17, 1897, Maud Heimlich.

XXXIII. *Eliza*[4], m. April 4, 1886, F. A. Buckbee; m. April 27, 1901, J. C. St. John.
Children by Mr Buckbee:
35 Raymond, b. Feb. 7, 1888, d. July 12, 1895.
36 Alta May, b. Aug. 31, 1889.
37 William McK., b. July 10, 1894.

Homet



was born in Paris in 1769. He was said to have been a steward in the household of Louis XVI; therefore, being in sympathy with the royalists he felt it safer to flee from France. On his arrival at the Bay of Biscay he engaged passage, placed his effects on board an American ship and stayed in hiding over night as officers were on his track. In the morning, to his dismay, he found the vessel was riding at anchor five miles out of the harbor. Determined not to be left behind, he resolved to try to swim to the vessel; a rash resolve, but successfully accomplished. It was an exciting passage, for the vessel was chased by an English cruiser. The French vessel had but one old cannon, a very long one. There was an old gunner on board, who paced back and forth excitedly, and when both ships were becalmed, begged the captain to let him load the cannon and try to cut off the Englishman's mast head. For some time the captain thought the chances were too small, and the excited passengers, knowing they were pursued for their wealth rather than their persons, gathered all their money and other valuables, put into a large bag and entrusted it to Charles Homet, with the understanding that if they were boarded by the English, he would cast the bag into the ocean. At last, as the vessels drifted nearer, the entreaties of the old gunner prevailed. Lying flat on the deck he carefully sighted, discharged the cannon, and the mast head was severed, disabling the English vessel, at which sight all the French cheered lustily. It was anticipated the English would take to their boats and board the French vessel, so the old cannon was reloaded ready to destroy them if need be. But night fell, there came a freshening breeze, and the French sailed out of sight of the English before daybreak.

However, Charles was pleasantly occupied, as during the voyage he made or renewed the acquaintance of Maria Theresa Schillinger, a native of Strasburg, who had also served in the royal household. They were married soon after they landed at Bordentown, at Bottle Hill, N. J., January, 1793. They lived about a year at Bottle Hill, but early in 1794, hearing of the Asylum colony, they were naturally attracted thither. It is possible that they were already known to Talon, who quickly showed his confidence in

Charles Homet by placing him in charge of the buildings in the forest intended for the hiding place of Marie Antoinette. Homet lived at that point for about two years, and then moved into the settlement. He purchased several lots of the company; and, as has been said, when the French deserted the colony, he and Laporte were the only two who remained on the ground. He lived on the lower part of the town plot, near where the Methodist church is now located.

He was a very reserved man, and but little is really known of his personal history; the latter part of his life he spent in Wysox, where he died. He was the last survivor of those who settled at Asylum. Judge Stevens, in an obituary, says of him, "By prudent management and industry he soon acquired the means of comfort and ease. His integrity was never impeached, and with morals unblemished he performed the pilgrimage of life, and like the righteous met death with hope of immortality." He died Dec. 29, 1838.

Charles Homet was twice married, his second wife being Cynthia Sicler, by whom he had one daughter, Lydia, who married E. T. Fox, of Towanda. As there are no living descendants of this wife we will not give genealogy. His descendants for the most part live in Bradford county, thrifty and prosperous. A town nearly opposite the old Frenchtown was long since named for him, "Homet's Ferry." Because of some old French books, suitable for a priest's instruction, it has been thought that Charles or his son Francis considered entering priesthood, but we are inclined to believe that they were left to him by some one of the priests who lived at Asylum. The volume entitled "Sermons pour Les Retraits par M. Collet, D.D.," printed in 1763, has on the fly-leaf an autograph signature of Charles Homet, Sr. Another is "Histoire de la Reine Marguerite de Valois, printed in 1777, with the approval and consent of the King"; also "Les Adventures de Telemaque," printed in 1699. Precious treasures. There is a dish brought by him that shows the fleur-de-lis of France, and that doubtless came from the Royal Palace. (Reproduced earlier.)

I. Charles Homet, b. 1769, m. Jan. 1793, Maria Theresa Schillinger, d. June 3, 1823.

Children:

2 *Charles* Frederick, b. May 9, 1794, d. .. 1865.
3 *Francis* Xavier, b. May 9, 1794, d. .. 1865.
4 *Harriet* Theresa, b. March 2, 1801, d. Oct. 18, 1847.
5 *Joseph* C., d. Feb. 26, 1880.

II. Charles F.[2] Homet, Jr., m. Sept. 24, 1817 Lucy Stevens.
Children:
6 *Francis*, b. July 8, 1820, d. .. 1867.
7 *Theresa*, b. July 8, 1822 at Asylum, d.
8 *Jonathan*, b. Feb. 16, 1824, d. July 1, 1905.
9 *Edward*, b. May 3, 1826, d.
10 *Milton*, b. May 24, 1828, d. Nov. 1899.
11 *Charles* S., b. May 24, 1830, d. .. 1902.
12 *Volney*, b. March 20, 1833, d. Dec. 27, 1906.
13 *Seth*, b. March 13, 1836, d.
14 *Joseph* A., b. May 18, 1840, d.

III *Francis*[2] X., m. June 24, 1828, Lucy Dodge, no issue.

IV. Harriet[2] T., m. Oct. 11, 1822, Simon Stevens.
Children:
15 *Charles*, b. Dec. 8, 1823, d. Dec. 5, 1895.
16 *Harriet*, b. April 20, 1825, d. Sept. 6, 1860.
17 *George*, b. May 10, 1826, d. Oct. 5, 1897.
18 *Ellen*, b. May 10, 1830, d. Aug. 25, 1903.
19 *Mary* S., b. Nov. 25, 1841, d. Dec. 25, 1871.

V. Joseph[2], m. Orris Brown. Children: Jewett G., Marion, Lydia.

VI. Francis[3], m. Mary Gilbert, no issue; m. Ada Chamberlain.
Children:
20 *Mary*, b. Aug. 13, 1847, m. George Fell. Children: Stella, M. Jean, M. Francis, Joseph, Paul, Hugh.
21 *George* S., b. .. 1851, m. .. Wattles.
22 *Rachel*, b. .., m. .. William Welles, Children: Marian, m.; Aline; Arthur, m.; Francis.

VII. Theresa[3], m. Oct. 9, 1848, U. Philemon Stone.
Children:
23 Charles R., b. May 27, 1849, d. June 19, 1913.
24 *Thomas* B., b. March 4, 1857, m. Minnie Hillis, children; William, b. Dec. 31, 1879; Susie, b. April 14, 1888.
25 *Ulysses* P., b. March 5, 1859, m. April 11, .., Augusta Hoffman.
26 Lucy, b. Nov. 9, 1865.

VIII. Jonathan[3], m. March 24, 1851, Harriet Donley.
Children:
27 *Lucy*, b. May 21, 1853, m. Feb. 8, 1883, John H. Howard, Children:
Brunetta, b. Jan. 31, 1884, m. Aug. 30, 1912, Ackley Blocher, one son.

Harriet, b. Aug. 3, 1885, m. Oct. 18, 1913, Vinette Taylor, two children.

Genevieve, b. April 29, 1887, m. Aug. 30, 1912, Ernest Fox, two children.

Jonathan, b. June 5, 1892.

28 Ada.

IX. Edward[3], m. Maria Mingos

Child:

29 Lucy J., b. April 2, .. d. July 17, 1907.

X. Milton[3], m. Mary Ann Irvine.

Children:

30 Irvine, b. April 29, 1859, d. June 10, 1897.

31 *Theresa*, b. June 6, 1872, m. May, 1901, Peter Patterson.

XI Charles[3] S., m. .. Martha Decker.

Children:

32 Reed, b. 1852, m. Ella Gale, children: Minnie, Charles, Eleazer.

33 Helen, b. Jan. 25, 1855, m. .. Bert Kingsley, children; Luella, m. John Miller, one son.
George, m. Mildred Kerrick, one son.
Flora.

34 Ella, b. Jan. 26, 1855, m. .. Frank B. Hunt, one son, Chas. S., m. Audrey VanKuren.

34a George, b. .. m. .. Minnie Kingsley, children:
Fred, b. Oct. 31, 1886, m. .. Edna Beaman, one son.
Frank, b. .. m. .. Eva Conklin.

XII. Volney[3], m. April 30, 1861, Emma Ingham.

Child:

35 Jessie, b. April 20, 1863.

XIII. Seth[3] m. Mch. 4, 1864, Elizabeth Eilenberger.

Children:

36 *Marietta*, b. March 5, 1865, m. June 19, 1890, A. D. Nesbit, one daughter.

37 *Charles* M., b. Oct. 6, 1867, m. Oct. 28, 1896, Caroline Chamberlain, children: Elizabeth, Marietta.

38 Cora, b. Oct. 21, 1869, d. May 10, 1888.

39 Anna, b. April 16, 1877, d.

40 *Geraldine* M., b. June 29, 1876, m. .. Richard Vaughan, one son.

XIV. Joseph[3] A., m. .. Adelia Gordon.
Children:
41. .*Augusta*, b. Aug. 26, 1867, m. .. Emory Kerrick, children: Joseph, Helena.
42 *Fanny*, b. Oct. 2, 1870, m. July, 1906, Walter Wolcott, Child: Lydia.
43 Edward, dec'd.
44 Miron, dec'd.
45 Eleazer, dec'd.

XX. Charles Stevens[4], m. June 11, 1861, Julia Horton.
Children:
46 *William* H., b. March 22, 1862.
47 *Eliza* H., b. Dec. 5, 1865, m. John Black.
48 *Francis*, b. Aug. 27, 1869.

XVI. Harriet[4], m. M. J. Long, no issue .

XVII. George[4], m. .. Mary Eyer.
Children:
49 Charlotte, b. Aug. 9, 1865.
50 *Susie*, b. Sept. 11, 1869, m. Chas. Mayberry, one son.
51 *George*, b. Nov. 22, 1873, m. Francis Turner, children:
Mary, b. 1900.
George, b. 1902.

XVIII. Ellen[4], m. Nov. 21, 1849, Wm. R. Storrs.
Children:
52 *Harriet*, b. Nov. 2, 1805, m. Oct. 11, 1871, d. Feb. 2, 1895.
53 William B., b. Aug. 20, 1856, d. Nov. 19, 1886.
54 Marion E.
55 Lillian G.

XIX. Mary[4] S., m. Sept. 25, 1870, M. Long.
Child:
56 *Fanny* Eleanor, b. Oct. 22, 1871, m. Nov. 1905, W. B. Layton.

XLVI. William[4] H., m. Oct. 17, 1889, Addie Mitten.
Children:
57 Harold M., b. Aug. 1, 1890.
58 Roland S., b. July 16, 1891.
59 Julia H., b. Dec. 5, 1892.
60 Edna, b. Dec. 27, 1893.
61 Marion, b. May 8, 1895.
62 James L., b. March 2, 1898.
63 Mildred, b. July 14, 1899.
64 Neva, b. June 11, 1900.

65 Dorothy C., b. Dec. 26, 1902.
66 Allen.
67 Alice.

XLVIII. Francis[4], m. Oct. 8, 1895, Lizzie Morrow.
Children:
68 Beatrice L., b. Oct. 4, 1896.
69 Evelyn L., b. Dec. 3, 1898.
70 Lida H., b. June 7, 1901.

The Homet genealogy, and perhaps others, are incomplete and not fully numbered because information was difficult to obtain for first edition. While some effort has been made to correct (in 1917) the work is too arduous and expensive to bring up to date, but is included because early records are most valuable.

APPENDIX

The Various Asylum Associations, 1794—1802
Plan of Asociation of the Asylum Company, as Established April 22, 1794

Improved April 27, 1795.

Articles of agreement made and entered into this 22nd day of April, 1794, by and between Robert Morris, Esq., of the City of Phila. and Senator from the State of Pa. in the Senate of the U. S. on behalf of himself and others his associates of the one part and John Nicholson Esqr. on behalf of said city, Comptroller-General of the State of Pa. on behalf of himself & others his associates of the other part: Witnesseth—that the said parties have entered into an association or company, for the purpose of settling & improving one or more tracts of country within the state of Pa., having already acquired the titles to a number of valuable tracts of land, situated in Luzerne, Northumberland & Northampton Counties, which they are ready to dispose of to actual settlers and to such others as will send settlers upon the lands they purchase. And in order to insure the best and most faithful management of the affairs of this Company for the benefit not only of said parties, but also of all who may eventually become interested therein, the following articles are agreed to & adopted viz:—

1. This association shall be styled the Asylum Company.
2. The capital stock of this Co. shall consist of lands, some of which are already purchased, & others are to be purchased, within the state of Pa. to the extent of 1,000,000 acres thereabout.
3. The said capital stock in lands shall be represented by so many shares or actions, of 200 acres each, as will amount to the quantity of land actually and bona fide the property of the company.
4. The affairs and business of this Company shall be conducted by a Board of Managers, to be elected annually by the holders of shares or actions, each share entitling the holder to a vote to be given personally or by proxy duly authorized.
5. The Board of Managers shall consist of a President & 4 members to be chosen from amongst the share holders of whom the President and 2 members shall be a quorum competent to transact business.
5. The said board shall have authority to employ a secretary & treasurer if necessary.
7. The said Board of Managers shall be authorized to employ one or more agent or agents, & one or more surveyor or surveyors to be stationed at the most convenient place, for the sale & survey of lands to be bought & sold by the company.

The Board of Managers shall have power to purchase for & on acc't of the Co. any lands in Pa. particularly those lying in the tract of district of county above described, (provided always that the quantity belonging to Co. shall not exceed 1,000,000 acres) on the lowest price and the best terms they can obtain them, consistently with the real interests of the Co.

9. The title to all such lands shall be vested in the President of the Board of Managers for the use of the Co., who shall execute a declaration of trust to be deposited in the Bank of the U. S., subject only to

the occasional calls of the Board of Managers duly met to transact business, for the purpose of making additions thereto, as purchases are made & in order to show the same to share-holders or purchasers when required.

10. The Board of Managers shall have authority to sell or contract, either by themselves or by means of their agents, for the sale of any lands or lots belonging to the company with such purchasers as shall agree to become settlers or shall engage to place settlers on the lands or lots they purchase. The price to the first purchases, or those who purchase within one year, shall not be less than $2 per acre nor shall more than —— acres be sold to any one person. The purchasers may have credit for 5 yrs., paying interest to commence the 3rd year at the rate of 6 per ct. per annum on the amounts for which they take credit. Purchasers paying ready money shall have a discount of 2 yrs. on the amount they pay & also a discount of interest for the unexpired time of 2 yrs if they make payments after the purchase and previous to the expiration of 2 yrs.

11. The President for the time being, shall in presence of the Board of Managers, execute all deeds of conveyance to the purchasers of which proper record shall be kept by the Secretary in a book to be opened by him for the purpose, which book shall be produced at every meeting of the board.

12. The board or their agents may covenant to make title to the purchasers when the payments are completed, or title may be granted immediately & mortgage taken to secure the payment of the bonds.

DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY.

13. The Secretary shall attend every meeting of the Board of Managers, he shall keep regular minutes of their proceedings, he shall summon such meetings when directed by the President or upon application of any two or more members of the Board or upon application of 20 share-holders, by sending a notice in writing to the President and each member, mentioning the time and place of such meeting.

14. Vacancies which may happen in the Board of Managers by death, resignation or removal to a distance of any member or members may be supplied by an election of the board for the remainder of the year, until the next general election by the share-holders.

15. The Board of Managers shall have power to make use of the Bank of the U. S. instead of a treasurer, if they find upon experiment that they can make it answer the purpose; if not, they may choose a treasurer who shall be paid for his services, & give security for the faithful discharge of his trust. He shall deposit all the monies of the Co. in the bank for the use of the Co. which shall only be drawn out at such times & in such sums as the Board of Managers may direct; and he shall safely keep all notes, bonds & mortgages & other obligations of the Co. He shall collect all monies for the same as they become due & place the sums he so collects in the bank in manner aforesaid.

16. The Board of Managers shall cause a set of books* to be opened & kept (by the treasurer if they shall choose one, or by the Secretary if they have no Treasurer) wherein shall be regularly entered a proper account fo all the purchases, of all the sales, of all monies received and paid, of all notes, bonds & mortgages & specialties of every sort & kind, & of all expenditures, & these acc'ts shall be so settled & adjusted, and an abstract thereof shall together with said books, be laid before the share-holders at every annual meeting to be held for the purpose of electing the Board of Managers, & at every such meeting the Board of Managers shall give a full & fair acc't of their proceedings & of the actual state of the Co's affairs entrusted to them.

17. The Board of Managers shall provide an office in the city of Philadelphia wherein to hold their meetings, & the Secretary shall attend on such days in each week and hours in those days as the Board may direct, for the purpose of laying before any share-holder that may

*These books are now in the possession of the writer and in Pennsylvania State Archives.

Jonathan W. Condy Esquire
Corner of 4th and Chestnut Street
President of Lunatic Asylum
Company

desire it, the book of minutes, the book of acc'ts, & to give such other information respecting the estate and affairs of the Co. as will convey a true idea of the actual situation.*

HOW TRANSFERS ARE TO BE MADE

18. The certificate for shares or actions shall be transferable at the pleasure of the holder, but the transfers must be made by the holder in person, or by his atty, at the office of the Board of Managers in presence of the Secretary who shall keep a record of all such transfers in a book to be kept for that purpose, which transfer shall be signed by the person so transferring, who shall also deliver up the old certificate & new ones shall be issued to the same am't to the transferee

19. The Board of Managers shall employ all monies rec'd in the purchase of lands or in paying for what they have until their contracts & engagements shall be performed and fulfilled; after which they shall declare & pay such dividends every year, or oftener if sums are rec'd to make it worth while to the stock-holders as will absorb the am't of their receipts to the time of such declaration.

20. The Board of Managers shall cause a statement of the Co's purchases & sales to be made out & printed every six mos. which shall show the quantity of land purchased to that time, & the prices pd for the same also the quantity sold to that time and the prices obtained, so that a fair estimate can be made of what remains, and of the rising value thereof; one copy of said statement shall be regularly transmitted to each share-holder agreeably to the address which he shall leave at the Co's office.

21. This Co. shall exist for 15 yrs, and at the end of that time, all remaining lands, bonds, notes, debts & other property of the Co. shall be sold for cash only, at public auction under the direction of the Board of Managers the premises being first advertised for 6 consecutive months in the public newspapers of most note in Pa, & such other of the states as the Board shall think necessary, fixing the time and place of holding said sale.

22. Within 60 days after such sale, the whole acc'ts of said Co. shall be made up & closed & the whole balance shall be equally divided amongst the number of shares, & such dividend shall then be payable to every share-holder upon demand at the bank of the U .S. or such other bank as the Board may then appoint & announce in the newspapers.

Here follows the usual covenants, each party binding himself in the sum of $1,000,000 to faithfully carry out these articles and they are signed by the parties—Robert Morris & John Nicholson, in presence of John Keating & Garrett Cottringer, April 22, 1794.

Feb. 21, 1795, it was resolved to pay a dividend of 6 per ct. per annum on each action estimated at $500, & in case sufficient monies were not received to make these payments, the board was to borrow enough to enable them to make the payt.

*Adam Hoops business address after he left Asylum was No. 81 North Sixth St. Perhaps there were offices of the Asylum Company at different times.

LIST OF ORIGINAL PURCHASERS

Martin I. Griffin gives the following list, source unknown, not found by the writer. He says: "The original purchasers of land who had made contracts even prior to the formal establishment of the Company were reported by John Keating at a meeting of the managers on June 20, 1794, as follows:

Name	Acres	Name	Acres
Maffrom	3,000	Blâcons	6,000
Carles	1,000	Colin	6,000
Carles Frères	1,000	Gerbur	600
De Moulelan	1,000	Sibert	500
Buzard	4,000	Bercy	500
Palyart	500	Sidsbat	6,000
Montullé	7,400	Cadignan	6,000
Bonnet	6,000	Noailles	4,000
Beldsloin	3,000	Frénel	6,000
Cottineau	2,000	Marrisback	1,000
Boulogne	1,000	Père Seraphim	5,000
		Talon	3,000

These acres were bought for ten shillings an acre, provided that during the first three years not less than $100 per thousand acres were expended in improvements. The managers ratified the contracts thus made, but fixed a period within which the privilege thus secured should be availed of, and ordered that the lands be assigned by lot. General Victor Collott, the exiled Governor of Guadaloupe, attended this meeting and expressed his desire to purchase one thousand acres for himself and nine thousand acres for his friends. The managers then resolved, in consequence of the increased demands in Europe as well as America, that the price be increased to $3 an acre, and notice to that effect was sent to Cadignan. In January, 1795, the first dividend of $15 a share was paid the stockholders (whose names Griffin gives in his "Colony of French Catholics"). In July, 1796, a second dividend of the same amount was declared. In May, 1795, the colonists sent a petition to the Board of Managers, sketching some measures and improvements which would be advantageous to them and a benefit to the company. The signatures to this petition were all known residents at Asylum. The list of first share holders is almost entirely made up of St. Domingo refugees*. Griffin also records that at the time of Rochefoucauld's visit, John Keating notified the managers that the distinguished visitor intended to encourage emigration, and wished to purchase land for himself, his family and friends. The lands subscribed for were on the following creeks, Roaring, Lycoming, Loyal Sock, Muncy, Fishing, Towanda, Big Run, Little Fishing, Bowman's, Pine and other waters in Lehigh, Luzerne, Lycoming, Columbia, Bradford, Shamokin and Northumberland Counties, as they were then or since named. In Luzerne the land was in twenty-four tracts, aggregating, 9,589 acres, valued at ten thousand dollars.

NEW ARTICLES, APRIL 25, 1795

Whereas April 22 1794 certain articles of agreement containing a plan of association of Co. styled the Asylum Co. were entered into between Robt. Morris & John Nicholson in behalf of himself & others his associates of the other part, as by reference thereunto may more fully and at large appear.

& WHEREAS The interests of the Associates aforesaid & also of the said Robert Morris in the said Co. hath been purchased by the aforesaid John

Nicholson whereby the right of the whole invested in the said Nicholson except as to the number of shares which have been heretofore sold.*

& WHEREAS the capital stock of the Co. consisting of 1,000,000 acres of land in Pa. except so far as the same is represented by the shares heretofore sold as aforesaid is now the property of the said J. Nicholson

& WHEREAS There were sundry engagements made by the Board of Managers by the said articles constituted in behalf of the Co. part whereof are designed to be altered as to shares to be disposed of in future & others to be confirmed

& WHEREAS other improvements in said plan are deemed necessary, it is agreed by and between the said John Nicholson of the one part, & those who shall become purchasers or holders of shares in the Asylum Co. of the other part, except the holders of shares already sold who may not choose to commute them for certificates as hereinafter permitted

1 The name plan and style of Association shall be the same as contained in the articles entered into April 22, 1794 except so far as the same shall be altered, amended or supplied, and the residue of said articles are hereby ratified & confirmed

2 The resolutions of the board of Aug 26. 1794 & Feb 21. 1795 shall be annulled

3 The lands composing the 1.000.000 acres shall be represented by 5000 shares of 200 acres each, are situated in the counties of Luzerne & Northumberland, as the boundaries of the said Co's were established at the date of the articles first mentioned.

4 Title vested in Trustees.

. The said John Nicholson shall cause the titles to said lands to be vested in trustees who shall hold the same in joint tenancy in trust to convey the same, agreeably to these articles & the articles made & executed April 22. 1794 & no certificate shall issue for shares to a greater amount than shall represent the quantity so cenveyed to the trustees.

5. The present trustees are Jared Ingersol, Esq., Atty Gen of the state of Pa. & Matthew Clarkson Mayor of the city of Phila & in case of the death or removal to a greater distance than 10 miles from the city of Phila of any trustee, or in case of resignation, another trustee shall be appointed by the Board of Managers & such conveyances made as shall vest the land in like manner in new Trustees.

6 There shall be no purchases made of land by the Co., the monies arising from the sales of their property to be divided among the shareholders except such part as shall be deemed necessary by a unanimous vote of the Board of Managers to be laid out in making roads or other improvements to give an additional value to the residue of the property of the Co.

7 All buildings & improvements on the lands of the Co. are the property of the Co. & to be disposed of as the Board of Managers may deem best. All the debts of the Co. for those improvements or any other services rendered or done the Co. shall be paid out of the sales of the property of the Co.

8 So much of Art. 10 as limits and directs either the price of land or terms of credit is annulled.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

9 Every owner of one or more shares shall become a member of this Co. & a party to these articles in virtue of such ownership as fully to all intents & purposes whatever as if such owners had actually signed &

*Recently, in looking over some letters of Robert Morris, to me, I found one under date of April 23, 1795, addressed to John Nicholson, in which he states that both he and Nicholson owned ninety shares each in the Asylum Company, valued at 0400.00 per share and in considering the responsibility of a shareholder, he contends that he is not accountable for more than the price per share, $400.00.

The following paragraph indicates that Nicholson was treating for the lands: "tI appears to me therefore that your offer for the lands was made under the existing circumstances and does not set aside the state of things in regard to the shares."

JOHN W. JORDAN, Librarian Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

sealed these presents, & cease to be so when he parts with his share or shares.

SETTLEMENT OF CLAIMS

10 When two or more persons shall claim the same land under different contracts with the Board of Managers or where any person or persons shall claim a tract or tracts of land under contract or contracts with the Board of Managers & the said board shall dispute such claim, in such cases a suit or suits may be commenced vs the said board, in the Co. of Phila. in the Supreme Court of Pa. or in the federal curcuit Court of Pa. by the person or persons claiming, & one or more feigned issues joined in order to determine the rights of the parties & trials had thereon, in the City of Phila, and the said Board shall request the trustees to convey the land so claimed to the person or persons in whose favor such determination shall be had. (The farther part of this article defines at length the modes of process, &c.)

11 All covenants articles of agreements or contracts made by the Board of Managers or by their agents for the sale of lands shall be to and in the name of the individuals composing the Board & shall be to them or the sirvivor of them, & the executors & administrators of such survivor to this intent expressly; that suits shall be brought in their name for the use of the said Co. (also provides for depositing contracts &c with the Secretary).

12 The Trustees for the time being shall upon receiving a request in writing signed by the President & Board of Managers attested by the Secretary execute a deed or deeds of conveyance in fee simple to the purchaser or purchasers for any tract or tracts of land which may have been sold by the Board or their agents; it being 1st certified by the said President & attested by the Secretary in the manner as before provided to the said Trustees, that the consideration money hath been paid or secured to be paid, if paid that it hath been deposited in one of the banks to the credit of the President & Managers of this Co. if secured that such securities have been deposited agreeably to Art 11.

13 The President & Managers shall be elected every year at the Co's office April 8 after public notice given.

14 It is agreed by the said J. Nicholson party of the 1st part, that the dividend or dividends shall not be less than $30 per annum on each share issued under this agreement, and that if the cash arising from the sales does not amount to that sum, he the said party of the 1st part doth hereby promise and bind himself his heirs and administrators to advance & lend to the Board of Managers such sum as may be necessary in addition to what they have on hand of the Co's money to enable them to pay $30 on each share, the Board of Managers granting their obligation to the said party of the 1st part to repay said advances out of the 1st moneys they may receive thereafter on acc't of the Co. except such as the said Board are obliged by article 10 to pay persons recovering vs. the Board & also except the monies received for a contingent fund.

The President and Managers shall be allowed a commission of 2½% on the amt of sales they make, receivable by them only out of the payments actually recd. or as the cash comes into the Co's possession, which commissions shall be divided in 5 equal parts 1 for the President & 1 for each member of the Board, & each manager each year shall receive $1000 on acct of the same.

16 The President and Managers shall establish a mode by which dividends can be paid in Europe.

17 (Form of the certificates of stock.)

18 The members of the old Co. may at their option transfer their stock to the new, otherwise their rights are not impaired.

19 (Method of Altering or Amending the plan.)

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT & ASSOCIATION.

Made & executed the 26th day of October Ad 1801 between the members of the Asylum Company.

Whereas the Asylum Company as constituted of articles, dated April 22, 1794 & improved by articles dated April 25, 1795 ⅞ **duly recorded** could not be perfected in the manner therein proposed, in consequence of the inability of Robert Morris and the late John Nicholson to perform their covenants therein contained, arising from pecuniary embarassments & judgments obtained against them and the subscribers hereto have been in consequence compelled to preserve and protect their rights and interests in the said company by purchase made and about to be made at the Marshal's sale for the district of Pa whereby all the interest and estate belonging to the said Co. excepting the proportion of 739 shares therein, are fully and completely vested in us—We do for ourselves and each of us our and each of our heirs, executors, administrators, & assigns mutually covenant, promise, grant & agree each with the rest & with other in the manner following, that is to say,

Article 1. That for the purpose of advancing and consolidating the interests of all concerned in the purchase aforesaid as well as of those who are holders of the said 739 shares—the whole estate and interest so purchased or which may hereafter be purchased, shall be divided into 1261 equal parts or shares, each of which shall be represented by a certificate thereof, in such form as the Managers herein after mentioned shall declare & establish, & shall be held in the following proportions or numbers, that is to say

	shares		shares
Archibald McCall	230	Wm. Cramond	221
James Gibson	70	Louis de Noailles	95
William Cramond	208	Abram Dubois	54
John Ashley	329	Robert Porter	54
	837		424
			837
			1261 total

But such of the foregoing, as claim under shares actually issued under the former Co. shall transfer & deliver up the certificates of such shares prior to receiving certificates under this association.

Article II. That the holders of the said 739 shares shall be entitled

to exchange the same within such time, and in such manner as the managers under this Association may limit and direct, for an equal number under this Association, upon transferring the same with all the right title & interest under the aforesaid articles for the benefit of this Association, & the shares so issued in exchange shall in all respects be on the same footing as the rest derived from the said purchase.

Article III. That each share issued under this association, which shall be denominated the **Asylum Company** shall represent & entitle the holder to that portion of interest in the same that such share bears to the whole number issued, so that in case all the said 739 shares shall be exchanged then the whole number under the same shall be 2000 shares & each share represent & entitle the holder to a 2000th part of the phole capital stock of the Association.

Article IV. That the legal title to the lands of this Association shall be vested as heretofore in 2 or more trustees, who shall hold the same in joint tenancy, in trust to convey the same to purchasers and others, agreeably to the articles & in case of the death, resignation or removal of them, or either of them, to a greater distance than 10 miles from the city of Phila. the Board of Managers shall supply the place of such Trustee or Trustees by appointing another or others & such conveyances shall be made as shall vest the titles in the new Trustee or Trustees, in the same manner as they were in the former & so on **toties quoties.**

Article V. All the concerns and interests of this Association shall be conducted & managed by five persons to be annually chosen by and from among the shareholders, who shall form a Board of Managers. The said Board shall elect one of their number President. The President & 1 manager or 3 managers in the absence of the President shall constitute a quorum to transact all business except the sale or purchase of any property of, or for this Association which shall require the consent of 4 of the Board.

Article VI. The managers shall be chosen by the share holders in person or by proxy annually on the 2nd Monday in Jan. at the Co's office. The election shall commence at the hour of 10 A. M. & public notice thereof shall be given at least 15 days before the election—the number of votes to which each share holder shall be entitled at every election shall be according to the number of shares he shall hold in the proportions following that is to say

For 1 share and not more than 2—1 vote.
For every 2 shares above 2 & not exceeding 10—1 vote
" " 4 " " 10 " " 30—1 "
" " 6 " " 30 " " 60—1 "
" " 8 " " 60 " " 100—1 "
" " 10 " " 100 " " ...—1 "

But no share holder shall be entitled to more than 30 votes & no share shall confer the right of suffrage unless held three calendar months before the election. For the remainder of the present year and until the next election William Cramond, John Ashley, Louis de Noailles, John Travis & James Gibson shall be & they are hereby appointed managers of this Association.

Article VII. The Board of Managers shall have power to settle and improve, to sell & dispose of the land, property and stock of this Association, in such manner & upon such terms as they shall from time to time think proper, & where any claims of title by others may interfere with those of this Association they may compound, compromise & settle the same by relinquishing the claims of the Association or otherwise & direct such instruments to be executed by the trustees as may be necessary to carry such settlement into complete effect (The Board of Managers fix rates and receive shares in payment) & the said Board of Managers shall generally have power to do & perform all such acts & things & employ such persons as may be needful & necessary for carrying into effect the designs of this Association.

Article VIII. The Board of Managers shall for the purposes aforesaid, have power from time to time to raise such sums of money as they may judge necessary by equal rates, or assessment on the shares, and the

sum so from time to time rated on each share, shall be published in one or more daily papers in the City of Philadelphia for thirty days, to give the share-holder notice thereof. And all shares on which such assessments shall remain unpaid six months from the expiration of the said thirty days, shall be thereby forfeited, and so much thereof (but not less than one share) as shall be necessary to pay such assessment and charges, shall be sold for the benefit of the association and if purchased by the Managers shall be held in trust for the Association, in the manner mentioned in the last article.

Article IX. The Board of Managers shall appoint a Secretary at such salary as they may fix, & also such Agents Surveyors & other officers & at such compensations as they from time to time shall fix and determine.

Article X. The Secretary shall attend the meetings of the Board of Managers, he shall keep regular minutes of their proceedings; he shall summon such meetings when so directed by the President, or upon application of any two or more members of the Board, or upon application in writing of any five persons holding more than twenty shares, by sending a notice in writing to the President and each member, mentioning the time and place of such meeting.

Article XI. The Board of Managers shall cause a set of books to be opened and kept by the Secretary wherein shall be regularly entered a proper account of all the purchases, of all sales, of all monies received and paid, all notes, bonds, mortgages and specialties, or notes of every sort and kind, and of all expenditures; and these accounts shall be so settled and adjusted as that an abstract thereof shall together with the said books, be laid before the shareholders at every annual meeting, to be held for the purpose of electing managers; and at every such meeting, the Board of Managers shall give a full and fair account of their proceedings and of the actual state of the Company's estate and of the affairs entrusted to them.

Article XII. The Board of Managers shall provide an office in the city of Phila. where their meetings shall be held, & the Secretary shall attend on such days in each week & hours of those days as the Board may direct for the purpose of laying before any shareholder who may desire it, the book of minutes, the books of accounts & to give such other information respecting the estate & affairs of the Co as will convey a true idea of their actual situation.

Article XIII. The compensation of the managers shall be fixed by the shareholders at an annual meeting and when once fixed shall so remain until altered at a subsequent annual meeting such compensation, however, in no case shall exceed five hundred dollars per annum for each manager.

Article XIV. Vacancies which may happen in the Board of Managers by death resignation or removal, of one or more members to a greater distance than ten miles from the City of Philadelphia may be supplied by an election of the Board for the remainder of the time for which the former manager was elected.

Article XV. All the monies of the Association shall be deposited as received in one or all of the Banks in the city of Philadelphia, to the credit of the Association and shall be drawn therefrom only by checks, signed by the Secretary and countersigned by two of the managers.

Article XVI. The certificates for shares shall be transferable at the pleasure of the holders, the transfer must be made in person or by an attorney in the presence of the Secretary in a book to be kept for that purpose to be signed by the person transferring & a memorandum thereof indorsed & signed by the Secretary on the certificate. In case of lost certificates of shares, the Board shall prescribe the mode by which the same may be renewed.

Article XVII. All monies rec'd from sales or otherwise which shall remain after deducting the necessary charges and expenses & reserving what may in the opinion of the Managers be necessary for the current expenditures & incidental charges shall be divided equally among the shareholders of which the Managers shall give public notice.

Article XVIII. Every holder of one or more shares, by transfer or

exchange of the shares of the old Co. shall thereby become a party to these Articles as fully to all intents & purposes whatever, as if such holder had actually signed & sealed these presents, & cease to be so when he parts with his share or shares.

Article XIX The trustees for the time being shall upon receiving a request in writing signed by the Board of Managers & attested by the Secretary convey such real estate or property vested in them as may be mentioned in such request & in manner as therein desired.

Article XX. The capital stock of this Association consists of all the land conveyed under the former articles, at that time supposed to consist of a million acres, for the whole of which warrants have been obtained from the state. As the whole of this amount may not be obtained from the interfering claims of others, the managers may, if they think it advantageous to the Co. purchase lands to supply any deficiency in this quantity, provided such purchases in addition to the quantity ascertained to belong to the Association shall not exceed 1.000.000 of acres.

Article XXI. This Association shall continue for 15 years & at the end of that time all remaining land, bonds, notes, debts & other property of the Association shall be sold for cash of approved notes, not exceeding 90 days at public auction under the direction of the Board of Managers the premises being first advertised for 6 succeeding months in one or more newspapers of Phila., N. Y. & Baltimore, fixing the time & place for holding the said sale.

Article XXII. Within 6 months after such sale all the accounts of the said Association shall be made out & closed, & the whole balance shall be equally divided among the number of shares, & such dividend shall then be payable to every share holder upon demand, at the Bank of the U. S. or such other Bank as the said Board may then appoint & announce in the newspapers.

In witness whereof the parties to these presents have interchangeably set their hands and affixed their seals the day & year first above written.

Sealed & delivered in
presence of
John Markoe
William Nicholson

William Cramond	(L. S.)
Louis de Noailles	(L. S.)
Abraham Dubois	(L. S.)
Robert Porter	(L. S.)
Archibald McCall	(L. S.)
James Gibson	(L. S.)
James Cramond	(L. S.)
John Ashley	(L. S.)

On the 26th day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred & one, before me Edward Shippen Esq Chief Justice of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania personally appeared William Cramond, Louis de Noailles, Abraham Dubois, Robert Porter, Archibald McCall, James Gibson & John Ashley in the above written articles of agreement & Association named, and in all due form of law asknowledged the same to be their and each of their act and Deed and desired that it may be recorded as such. Witness my hand and seal the day & year aforesaid.

EDWARD SHIPPEN, (L. S.)

Since publication of first edition, we have become familiar with the Minute Book of the Asylum Company of 1801, recording meetings from 1802-1804 with some later entries. Contrary to some statements that de Noailles severed his connection with the enterprise, these minutes show that he was a shareholder and active manager as long as he lived in Philadelphia. Although the first recorded meeting is April 7, 1802, there are a few earlier entries from 1796-1799 signed by de Noailles.

The first meeting was mainly to arrange for transfers of old for new shares according to the articles of association of Oct. 26, 1801, and the granting of new certificates of stock. At the next meeting May 16, 1802,

Samuel Baird, surveyor, was employed to explore the Company's land. There are long lists of shares with autographic signatures of shareholders or their representatives. Numbers begin with 484, showing that the original Asylum plot was not included. The largest shareholder at this period was James Cramond. The President of the Company was John Ashley, and de Noailles was acting manager until he left the country.

April 28, 1803.

At a meeting of the Share Holders on this day the following gentlemen were elected managers for the ensuing year: William Cramond, Jno. Ashley, Jno. Travis, Archd. McCall, James Gibson.

Monday, July 18, 1803.

Board met. Present: A. McCall, Pres.; Jno. Ashley, W. Cramond, Jno. Travis, James Gibson, Managers.

The Secretary Reported that he had received a letter from Samuel Baird mentioning his having gone over and Surveyed 26,600 Acres on the Middle Branch of Tawandie and 18400 acres on the North side of Tawandie which last body he had subdivided into smaller Tracts and on which there were about 25 Settlers who evinced a disposition to purchase—The Board taking into view this circumstance and the importance of sending Mr. Baird early out again to employ the Season in exploring and subdividing the remaining Tracts; Resolved, that for the purpose of enabling Mr. Baird to pursue the business as early as possible a loan be obtained of the Bank of the United States of 2000 dollars on a note to be drawn by the Secretary in favor of the President and indorsed by him and the other Managers, and that in case it should be necessary to repay the said loan before the Company is in funds for the purpose that each of the parties to it will contribute towards the same in the proportion of the shares now held by each person.

Dec. 30, 1803.

Board met. Present: A. McCall, Jno. Ashley, W. Cramond, James Gibson.

Two letters from Samuel Baird one dated 24 Ins. and the other 28 Ins. were presented and Read. The Board requested the Secretary to write to Daniel Smith on the subject of his claim to the Asylum Lands and to propose an amicable action to be entered in the County of Phila. in the Supreme Court to determine the Claim.

Applications of Ezra Spalding and Dominic Kingsberry were made requesting loans to enable them to erect mills—Whereupon Resolved that the Board will advance $200 to each on a loan for three years with Interest to be paid them when the Mills are in that state of forwardness as in the opinion of Mr. Baird to justify the advance which is then to be secured by Mr. Gage.

The Secretary produced a draft of a Deed of Exchange to be executed by the Holders of the Shares under the two former associations; to be executed by those who write to accept the proposal made in the last Association, which being approved of, the Board Resolved that the same be adopted, and the Secretary was directed to cause a number to be printed for the use of the Compy.

The Board further Resolved that the Shares under the Association formed in October 1801 be issued to the persons entitled to receive the same, upon such persons transferring and giving up for the use of the Company the rights by which they claim their Shares and the payment of 22 dollars on each share by those who have not yet paid.

March 30, 1804.

The Board met. Present: Archibald McCall, President; Jno. Ashley, James Gibson, Managers.

Mr. Baird attended the Board and informed that 5 Patents and 160 Warrants belonging to the Company remained in the Secretary's office for fees. Whereupon Resolved that the Secretary pay the fees due upon the Patents and take them from the office. Mr. Baird stated that $539.02 were due for fees upon the Warrants, which being unsatisfied

warrants and the Comptroller having published aboutem to the public in respect to the claim of the Commonwealth on Mr. Nicholson's Estate it was further Resolved that for the present no further proceeding be had as to these.

Mr. Baird further suggested the propriety of making enquiries into the situation of the Land of the Company purchased of Musser and Grant which consisted of 36 Tracts in which Grant claims ⅛ part—32 ditto in which he claims $4,000 and also upwards of 100 Tracts which were disputed with Wilson and Thomas when a compromise was made with Thomas The Board Resolved that Mr. Baird be requested to desire Mr. Grant to procure and forward them full information on this subject and also to enquire of Mr. Morris whether he has any papers which can elucidate this Transaction.

Mr. Baird was further requested to make enquiry into the State of 25 Tracts purchased of William P. Brady on Hunters or Elk Lake and report thereon.

Mr. Baird was also requested to report the Situation of 5 Tracts on Fishing Creek mountain on which William Montgomery claimed 1s. per acre and the surveying fees and state the particulars of his claim with his (Mr. Baird's) opinion thereon—and the value of the Land.

An application was received from Reed Brockaway and Timothy Alden to purchase 1400 acres on the head waters of Loyalsock and Tawandie whereupon Resolved, that the request cannot be complied with.

The Board being of opinion that it would much conduce to the benefit of the Company to consolidate all the Interests held under the former Associations into the present as contemplated in the 2d Article of this Association: Resolved that Messrs Ashley and Gibson be a Committee to prepare and Report an Instrument for the Holders of the Shares under the former Associations to execute for this purpose and prepare also a Circular to inform them of this Resolution.

August 15, 1904. Committee report Certificates of shares ready for distribution on application.

The Board resolved that the 300 shares held in trust for the company and deposited with the secretary, be sold by public sale to raise money to pay dividends on residue of shares.

Nov. 6, 1804. Meeting held. Board decides to prepare a circular letter, requesting shareholders to exchange old for new shares and arrange to pay dividend.

Dec. 20, 1804, is the last recorded meeting, no particular business. There is a partial list of stockholders, the last signature being that of John Keating, March 7, 1805. There are many names here of which we have no other record, several being of foreign banking companies or syndicates.

Jan. 8, 1810, a meeting was held at 176 Chestnut St., to elect managers. John Read, Secretary.

In 1819 the Lands of Stock of the Asylum Company were offered for sale at the Merchants' Coffee House.

In 1822 there was what was afterwards recorded as a "clearing up sale" and distribution of the capital stock of the late Asylum Co., the bonds, mortgages and real estate being made over to Archibald McCall, James Gibson, John Ashley, Thomas Astley, who were made Trustees of the contingent fund of the late Asylum Company, for the benefit of the contributors. In 1843 what was left of the lands described as "lying on the headwaters of Mehoopany and Loyalsock," 25 tracts, was sold to William Jessup of Montrose, Pa., for $2500. He subsequently conveyed the same to Michael Meylert. It is said all remaining papers relating to Asylum were burned in the Meylert house or office, but the evidence in this volume proves that many records were elsewhere preserved.

The annexed autographic letter is reproduced by the courtesy of J. G. Rosengarten.

John Nicholson, Esq.:

Dear Sir:

When you received ninety shares in the Asylum Company & I sold the same number valued at $400 per share, if the accts. had been regularly kept this would have appeared & had I given away mine or sold them for ever so much money I apprehend I should only have been accountable for $400 per share, and in like manner whatever was the value when the 460 shares were issued to each, I can only be accountable for that value at which the shares are mine, for it was no part of our bargain when the Lands were sold to you at 100% that these shares should be returned, nothing was said about them. I might have previously sold them or otherwise disposed of them as really that is the case with a considerable part. It appears to me therefore that your offer for the lands was made under the existing circumstances & does not set aside the state of things in regard to the shares.

I am your obdt. hble. servt,

Jno. Nicholson, Esq. 23 April, 1795.

HOLLENBACK'S CLAIM

On an earlier page (17) we have told of finding papers concerning this claim among Matthias Hollenback's. He was a remarkable man of business, and preserved every scrap of paper relating to his affairs. As we write, we have at hand his own copies of his letters to Mr. Peter Gallaudet of Philadelphia, or rather experimental letters, as there are many changes and erasures. November, 1797, he writes that he went to the city in September, but there was no doing anything as every body was out of town. He says he encloses a copy of his claim against the Asylum Company "stated as perticeler as I could, I believe there's nothing omitted.I must enter a sute the ensuing court—. You have a general knowledge of the business, you wrote me several letters for Mr. Talon, you well know how urging he was in the business to me, I often was obliged to quit my business, and go after his or the company's business, I shall not git anything of Robert Morris as he has wrote me that he sold out long since his share." In another letter, a few months later, he says Gallaudet has been to too much trouble but "I can assure you my claim is against the property of the company, still the greater part was contracted before the company was formed, or before I had any kuowledge of it. I am by no means at a loss in the matter, nor have I ever been, only being a little delicate. I had letters to purchase them lands from Mr. Morris in his private capacity, and as President of that company, also from John Nicholson. I have also two or three letters in your hand writing signed Talon for to make those purchases and they would pay costs, also one or two letters from Count Denoals (de Noailles) concerning the land business, but to say I have any letters from the President of the Asylum Company to purchase them, I have not, and if all should fail me, I would be sorry. Still I think it can not. I know enough of either Mr. Morris' or Mr. Nicholson's business in this country to save myself by the way of land, but that is not what I want, but money to defend the debt is all I wish. I thought I was faithful. At any rate I have Mr. Talon's thanks in your handwriting for it. I am not afraid to claim my just due before God & man, but to go to the company I cannot. They do not know me in the business nor I them, and to stand before them as a criminal at the bar seaking for money I shall

not if I never gite any thing." It is easily seen that Gallaudet acted as interpreter and letter writer for Talon and that Hollenback's just claim was disputed by some clever lawyer. We find no papers between this date and 1813, when the old man started in again with the Asylum trustees as per following statement in his own handwriting. Other letters following with explanatory papers, show the justice of the claim and the persistancy of the claimant.

Philada Feby 24th 1813 I Matthias Hollenback call'd on Mr. M.Call to Renew my Claim against the asylum Company. he told me there was no such a thing as an asylum Company, that the property of the asylum Companys property had long been sold & Bought in by those that they were indebted to, and that my Claim of court could not be again them Still he had heard of my Claim & that he would think of it & mention it to the Board &c.

To the President and Managers of the Asylum Company,
Gentlemen:

I must again repeat my application to you for redress, and shall lay my claim before you.

In 1793, at the request of Mr. Robert Morris, I purchased for him and Mr. Talon the Flatts now known by the name of Asylum Flatts, and gave my notes for the balance due the owners of the said lands.

In 1794, Messrs. Morris & Nicholson, and associates Messrs. Talon and DeNoailles formed the Asylum Company: the capital stock consisting in lands purchased or to be purchased. The Asylum Flatts were given in and received by the Board, well informed of the above incumbrances: the changes made in 1795 caused no alteration.

In October 1801 new articles were made by divers shareholders, in order to protect and secure their rights; and on that account purchased at Marshal's sales all the estate of the said Asylum Company, excepting the proportion of 739 shares.

The above-mentioned Notes becoming due, I had to pay them, because the Asylum Company had no other means of procuring money, than by Mr. Morris and Mr. Nicholson, who were successively the Presidents of the Company; and their difficulties were too great. Mr. Nicholson had even ceased paying the interest of six per cent payable to the shareholders.—However, in May 1795, being President, he mentioned to me that he, and not Mr. Morris, would settle my claim against the Company; and on the 25th of the same month, he paid me as part of said claim $648.60 on account of the Company.

Owing to his embarassments, and of course to those of the Company on account of their connection, I could get nothing from him, nor from the Company, nor from Mr. Morris; and I was advised to begin a suit.

It is evident from the above facts that I have been obliged to pay money for lands which the Asylum Company has held, and has even sold; and that it has been known to the said Company from the first that part of their cost was still due me.

I have constantly and regularly laid in my claim to the Board and its agents. No change in its constitution can destroy or annul it; the payment of $648.60 shews it to have been acknowledged; the proportion of 739 shares is at least liable to the payment of my claim, if not even the whole property. It could not be the intention of the late purchasers to cancel any bona-fide debt, but to secure their interests without impairing that of others.

I have long since rendered the Company my account, with the exception of some costs; and I do now expect they will do something for me. I have been often and repeatedly told the Company had no funds to pay me or any one; and have waited until I saw and heard of the company's selling large tracts of Land, and receiving sums of money for them.

I never should have stood a suit on any of my notes, but was advised to do so by my counsel; that a third person giving his notes was not obliged to pay, as he had received no value for them: but when he saw my notes, he said I would have to pay them, which I did.—And now, gentlemen, all I ask is the money I have advanced with the interest

thereon. The loss of my time, as well as my expenses, I will say nothing about. I pray you to do something for me. I am an old man, and cannot travel much longer for myself or any one else; and I have a family depending on me for support.

I am, Gentlemen, with due respect,

Wilkes Barre, Your very humble servt

Aug. 10, 1814. Matthias Hollenback.

His last appeal, made shortly before his death, thus closes: "I wish the Board to pay something on my claim as I do not want to leave it over to my son to settle though grown to manhood."

(Copies of two of the notes referred to in the above letter) (both given to Charles Townley, May 28th, 1794.)

(1) I Promise to pay unto Charles Townley or his order the sum of Nineteen pounds sixteen shillings and 10d good and lawful money of Pennsylvania, to be paid by the first day of November next after the date hereof. For the value received in a Tract of land Purchased for Viscount Noailles on Standing Stone flatt.

As my Hand and Seal this 28th day of—(May)—A. D. 1794.

(Witness?)

Joseph A. Rathbun. (Signature torn off.)

(Assignment of the above.)

I do assigne the within note to Richd Townley for his own use.

Asylum 1st Octr 1794. Charles Townley.

Note 19.16.10
11. 7

20. 8. 5

(The Second Townley Note.)

I promise to pay unto Charles Townley the sum of Fifty Pounds, Good and Lawful Money of Pennsylvania, to be paid by the first day of November which will be in the year A. D. 1795, for the Value Received in a Tract of Land purchased of said Townley for Viscount Noailles on Standing Stone flatts.—As witness my hand and seal This 28th day of May, A. D. 1794.

For Matthias Hollenback.
(Seal)
Ben. Perry.

(Receipts and other Memoranda upon the back of Note No. 2)

(1) Received 20th Decr 1795 two dollars on the within.
Charles Townley.

(2) Recd May 23d 1796 on this note three pounds eight shilling and sixpence.

L. 3. 8. 6. C. Townley.

(3) Recd May 26th 1797 of the within note three pounds P. C. (i. e. Pennsylvania Currency).
his
Robt X Alexander
mark

(4)) Recd Oct. 31st 1797, of the within note Twenty-one Pound and Sixpence, Pn. Cy: By me, John Harvey

(5) (In the hand of M. H.) John Alexander says he paid—
first three pounds 3. 0. 0

then 55. 9.11
the note is 51.16. 6

RECORDED AS IN WYALUSING TWP.

Wyalusing Assessment 1796, earliest known list (Craft) with spelling used by Assessor:

Brunert, Peter
Buzard, Laurence
Brovost, John
Bigdelier, John
Beloughne Chas (Wysock's roll)
Colony, Mansey
Demene, Francis
Dandilott, Henry
Dutremont, Widowe
Fromenta, Elijah
Keeton, John
Lafaber, Bartholomew
Laporte, Bartholomew
La Roue, Caz'a
Lefeber, Lewis
Montale, John
Noailles, Guy
Obray, George
Reo, Francis
Sebart, Sophia
Talon, Omer

1799

Blacons, Laucretius
Buzzard, Laurence
Becdeliver, John
Calling, Mansey
Demente, Francis
Keating 6 houses
Larou, Casimere
Lefaver, Antony
Lefaver, Lewis
Laroue, Jas.
Laporte, B.
Noailles, Guy
Homet, Charles
Rosset, John
Regriei, Peter

1800

Bedeliver, John
Desmesne, Francis
Laport
Laroue Carisime
Lefebe, Ant.
Laroue, Jno.
Homet, Charles
Rosset, John

1801

Bedelevere, John store & house
Brevost, John
Collein house & distillery
Buzzard, Lau. gristmill
de Noailles, Louis
Demene, Francis
Homet
Laporte
Laroue, C.
Lefeber, L.
Lefeber, A.
Laroue, Jas.
Regnier, Peter
Rosset merchant

1802

Bigdelavre, John
Brevost, John
Buzard, Laurence
Asylum Co. 1000 acres unimproved land
Collins, Mansey
Demene, Francis
Homet, Charles
Leport, Bartholomew
Lefever, Anthony
Lefever, Louis
Obrey, George
Regnea, Peter

French Accounts in Possession of Author

Dates covering year 1794 and a few in 1795, most of them written in French; for examples see among illustrations one signed by Louis Paul d'Autremont and one signed by Talon.

Eight signed by Dupetithouar, being certificates of work done at the *big house*, inside and out; building of shops for Charles, Picard and Aubrey; fitting up "the priest's" house; cleaning cellar of Nores' house; Blanchard's account for mason work, or assisting mason "Donmead" including "one-third of a day *hunting* slate stones for Beaulieu's chimney;" account of kettles bought of Enoch Skeer for potash making; one agreeing to pay for a canoe which he had borrowed and "which has been taken away from our landing."

Six signed by Talon, including account of Joseph Town, carpenter, for building barn for Talon; same for work on Beaulieu's house, and barn; work on "la grande maison," (see illustration) account of shop keepers and servants.

An order on Mr. Hoops to pay M. Montullé for planks for the barn and other houses belonging to the company.

Joseph Lowry gives an order on Dupetithouars calling him "Captain Petetiox."

Three receipts of Brevost for money received from "Asylum Company," seventy dollars of which was for clearing land sold him by the company.

Two receipts for money paid by Adam Hoops to Louis Paul d'Autremont and one to Alexander d'Autremont.

Receipted account of Wallois, very evidently the butler whom Talon dismissed.

Several receipts for money paid by company, signed Lefebvre, one to M. *Chedricoorte.*

Two signed by Beaulieu, accounts with Hoops.

One signed by Aubrey, giving power of attorney to Talon to close up his accounts, as he was evidently leaving Asylum.

One written in French and signed by Talon, concerning rights on wharf.

One written in French and signed by Dupetithouar when leaving for Niagara with Rochefoucauld.

1917. Many more found among Keating papers with signatures of different Frenchmen who had shops or inns at Asylum.

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John Keating's letters and papers.
Many receipted bills of work done in the colony, in possession of author; source unknown.

Family Records and Traditions of Laporte, Homet, Lefevre, Prevost, d'Autremont, Keating, Welles, Stevens, Brown, Moody and Biles.

Asylum Account Books in possession of the author, and in Harrisburg.

Notes made by Rev. David Craft in Craft Collection, Tioga Point Museum.

Letters in Collection of Gilbert S. McClintock.

New sources of information made known by courtesy of J. G. Rosengarten.

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